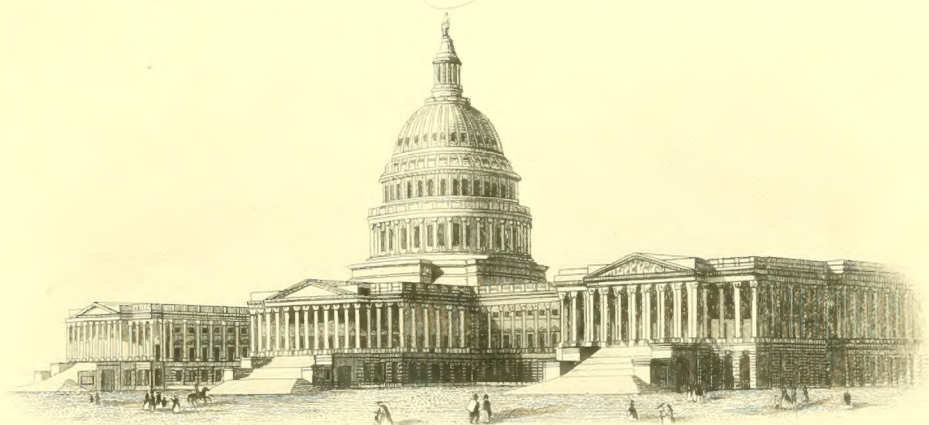


THE
HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

BY

William H. Barnes



WITH PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

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HISTORY OF CONGRESS.

THE FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

1869—1871.

BY WILLIAM HORATIO BARNES, A.M.

WITH PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

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P R E F A C E.



THIS volume contains the legislative and personal history of Members of the Congress of the United States for the two years ending March 4, 1871. Of the three hundred and twenty-eight men whose records are here given, one hundred and seventy-five were members of the Fortieth Congress, and their biographies are begun in a preceding volume of this series and continued in this. Biographical sketches *de novo* are given in this volume of those who made their appearance in national legislation for the first time in the Forty-first Congress.

A preliminary chapter presents a *résumé* of the doings of the Forty-first Congress which have a general interest and a national importance. The subjects which are here merely mentioned, or not even referred to, may frequently be found fully set forth, with important views relating to them, under the names of such Senators and Representatives as were their originators or chief advocates. The extracts given are generally concise illustrations of the opinions and the style of the speakers, and will be found worthy of perusal as specimens of recent American oratory.

The plan of the work now appears fully developed in this and the preceding volumes. It is designed to publish a biennial volume, giving a history of the Congress for each successive term of two years. The biography of a Senator or Representative who was a member of the Fortieth Congress is found, with as full details as could be given, in the History of Congress for 1867-1869. So long as he may remain in Congress his record may be traced through the succeeding volumes of this series.

For important material used in the work the author is indebted to numerous private letters from friends of the subjects, to the

local newspapers, which in many instances published biographies of members of Congress when they were candidates, to the Congressional Globe, and to the Directory of Congress. Appleton's invaluable Cyclopædia and Harper's Magazine have also furnished useful material. In some instances whole volumes of biography have been condensed into brief sketches which follow.

Although using every effort to secure the utmost accuracy, the author cannot flatter himself that he has escaped errors, and that he has avoided important omissions. As it is the purpose of the author to make as nearly as possible a perfect work, all errors and oversights which may come to his notice in this edition will be corrected in the next.

A most attractive feature of this work is the steel portraits, of which it contains a larger number than any publication ever before issued. No care, labor, or expense has been spared to make it a portrait gallery worthy of the great national subject which it illustrates. The portraits are by the best engravers from approved photographs, and may be relied upon as life-like and accurate.

Each sketch is separately paged; for the book, as a whole, no folios are used. The sketches and portraits are to be found in alphabetical order—the Senators preceding the Representatives.

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THE FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.



THE Forty-first Congress assembled at noon on the 4th of March, 1869. There were present fifty-eight Senators, of whom fifty were Republicans and eight were Democrats. In the House of Representatives one hundred and ninety-three answered to their names, of whom one hundred and thirty-six were Republicans and fifty-seven were Democrats. Alabama, Connecticut, and New Hampshire had not yet chosen representatives. Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia not having been reconstructed, were without representation.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Vice-President of the United States, took the chair as President of the Senate. In the House of Representatives Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was elected Speaker, receiving one hundred and thirty-five votes against fifty-seven for Hon. M. C. Kerr, of Indiana. The organization of committees in both the Senate and the House being in the hands of the same political majority, was similar to that of the preceding Congress.

The work of reconstruction, which this Congress had the good fortune to complete, early occupied its attention. On the 7th of April the President sent to Congress a message, stating that it was desirable to restore the States which were engaged in the Rebellion to their proper relations to the Government and the country at as early a period as the people of those States should be found willing to become peaceful and orderly communities, and to adopt and maintain such constitutions and laws as would effectually secure the civil and political rights of all persons within their borders. The President suggested that, in regard to Virginia, a law should be enacted authorizing an election, to decide upon the acceptance of the Constitution adopted by a convention on the 17th of April, 1868. He also submitted whether the Constitution

framed in Mississippi, and rejected, might not be again submitted to the people of that State.

A bill was framed, which passed both Houses, and was approved by the President on the 10th of April, providing that the President might submit the proposed Constitution of Virginia to a vote of the registered electors, and that at this election State officers and members of Congress might be voted for. If the Constitution should be ratified, the bill provided that the Legislature should assemble on the fourth Tuesday after the official promulgation of such ratification by the military officer commanding in the State. Essentially the same provisions were adopted with regard to Mississippi and Texas. It was also provided that, before these States respectively should be admitted to representation in Congress, their several Legislatures should ratify the Fifteenth Article proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The proceedings in any of the States should not be deemed final, nor operate as a complete restoration thereof, until their action should be approved by Congress.

At the beginning of the second session, December, 1869, the President's Message called attention to the fact that seven of the States lately in rebellion had been fully restored to their places in the Union, while the eighth, Georgia, although complying in other respects with the requirements of Congress, had, in violation of its own Constitution, expelled the colored members of its Legislature, and admitted some members who were disqualified by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The subject was promptly acted upon by Congress, both Houses passing a bill for the reconstruction of Georgia, which provided for the convening of the old Legislature, excluding such as were ineligible under the Fourteenth Amendment, but none on account of race or color; and empowering the President to enforce the act, using the army and navy if necessary.

On the 10th of January, 1870, the joint resolution for the admission of Virginia came up in both Houses, and was debated at length in the Senate. Those objecting to the immediate admission of the

State did so on the ground that a large proportion of the members of the Legislature could not take the test oath. The opinion of Attorney-General Hoar, that the oath might be legally dispensed with, was strongly opposed. On the 11th a bill was reported from the Reconstruction Committee in the House admitting Virginia to representation on certain conditions. Mr. Bingham moved to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert that Virginia is entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States. This substitute was adopted by the House, January 14, by a vote of ninety-eight to ninety-five. In the Senate, several amendments prescribing conditions having been adopted, the bill passed, January 21, by a vote of forty-seven to ten. Three days later, the bill as amended by the Senate was adopted by the House by a vote of one hundred and thirty-six to fifty-seven, and, without delay, received the approval of the President.

Bills to admit Mississippi were introduced into both Houses January 31, 1870. The House of Representatives, on the 3d of February, passed a bill with terms essentially the same as those of the Virginia bill. The bill passed the Senate February 17, and immediately became a law by Executive approval. The Senators from Mississippi were then admitted, one of them, Mr. Revels, a colored man, taking the seat formerly held by Jefferson Davis.

On the 7th of March a bill was introduced in the Senate for the admission of Texas, which passed that body on the 29th. The bill passed the House on the 30th, and on the following day the Senators and Representatives from Texas were admitted to their seats.

The bill for the admission of Georgia came up in the House March 5, 1870, and two days later passed that body. After a protracted discussion in the Senate, a bill passed that body on the 19th of April, 1870, turning the State over to military rule again, and providing for an election for a new Legislature in the following November. The bill was returned to the House of Representatives on the 20th, and, on motion of Mr. Butler, was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction.

It was not until the 24th of June that the Georgia bill was finally passed in the House declaring the State entitled to representation, a legal Legislature having ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. It was as late as the 16th of January, 1871, that the Representatives from Georgia were admitted to their seats, one of these, Mr. Long, being a colored man. A Senator from Georgia was admitted February 1st. The great work of Reconstruction was then complete.

Though the final restoration of the last of the States was so long delayed, through its failure to fulfill the conditions imposed, the crowning act of reconstruction was achieved at a much earlier date, the President having, on the 15th of March, 1870, sent to Congress a message inclosing a communication from the Secretary of State, announcing that thirty States had, up to that date, ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Following close upon the consummation of reconstruction came measures to do away with certain disabilities and restrictions which had hitherto been deemed necessary. In the Senate a bill was introduced by Mr. Sawyer, which passed that body without a division, April 22d, to abolish the test oath as applicable to those who are not disqualified from holding office under the Fourteenth Amendment, providing that such persons should take the oath prescribed for those whose disabilities have not been removed. This bill finally passed the House, February 1, 1871, by a vote of one hundred and eighteen to ninety. The President allowed this bill to become a law without his signature, explaining his conduct afterward in a special message, wherein he objected to the partial application of the law.

A measure having a bearing upon the subject of reconstruction was a bill to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, which was introduced in the House February 21, 1870, and passed May 16, by a vote of one hundred and thirty-one to forty-four. After receiving numerous amendments, it passed the Senate May 21 by a vote of forty-three to eight. A Committee of Conference was appointed, whose report was adopted by the Senate May 25, and by the

House on the day following. The law is general in its application, designed to enforce the right of citizens to vote in the several States who have hitherto been denied that right on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Finance was next to reconstruction in importance among the subjects of legislation in the Forty-first Congress. On the 16th of December, 1869, the House, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-four to one, passed a resolution setting the seal of its condemnation upon any and all propositions to repudiate any portion of the debt of the United States. A resolution, offered by Mr. McNeely, to pay the five-twenty bonds in greenbacks, was tabled by a vote of one hundred and twenty-two to forty-one. The opposition of the Senate to an inflation of the currency was indicated by the adoption in that body, without a division, February 24, 1870, of a resolution that, in the opinion of the Senate, the volume of the currency ought not to be increased.

A bill (known as Sherman's Currency Bill) passed the Senate February 2d providing for the issue of \$45,000,000 more bank currency, to be put forth by new banks against the same amount of three per cent. certificates, which were to be cancelled, and after this issue it provided for a distribution of \$20,000,000 of bank currency among the States which had less than their proportion of the \$300,000,000 afloat—this sum to be taken from those States having more than their proportion, the object of the bill being to supply the West and South with needed capital. This bill was passed in the House, with an amendment, June 15th, which made it necessary that a Committee of Conference should be appointed. This Committee reported, on the 6th of July, in favor of adopting the bill as passed by the Senate, with the modification fixing the amount of additional currency to be issued at \$54,000,000. The bill which, in accordance with the report, was adopted provided for the immediate distribution of this additional sum of currency among the several States, and for a redistribution after the census of 1870. The bill in this form became a law.

The most important financial measure of the Forty-first Congress

was the bill for funding the national debt. This bill was reported in the Senate as early as the 11th of January, 1870. After protracted discussion, it passed the Senate March 11, 1870, by a vote of thirty-three to ten. The House adopted a bill of its own, as an amendment, July 1st, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to forty-three. A Committee of Conference was appointed, but their report was rejected. A second Committee was more fortunate, their report being adopted, and, as modified by them, the bill passed, July 13, 1870.

The relations of the Forty-first Congress to the Executive were far more cordial than were those of its predecessor. Very early in this Congress an effort was made to remove the restrictions which had been placed upon the President's power of appointment to office and removal. The House voted to repeal the Tenure-of-Office Law absolutely. The Senate, jealous of its prerogative, refused to concur, but passed important modifications. A Committee of Conference was created, and a bill agreed upon, ostensibly to amend, but really almost a repeal, which passed in the Senate by a vote of forty-two to eight, and in the House by one hundred and eight to sixty-seven.

The Forty-first Congress also did something toward defining the position of the third branch of the Government—the Judiciary. At an early stage of the proceedings a bill was passed to amend the judicial system of the United States, which received the approval of the President. It provided that the Supreme Court of the United States shall consist of the Chief-Justice and eight Associate Justices, of whom six shall constitute a quorum. For each of the nine existing Judicial Circuits there shall be appointed a Circuit Judge, who shall reside in the Circuit. Any Judge who has held his commission for ten years, and has attained the age of seventy years, may resign, and shall receive during his life the same salary that was payable to him at the time of his resignation.

On the 28th of April, 1870, the House passed a bill, which was adopted by the Senate June 16, for the establishment of an executive department, to be known as the Department of Justice, of

which the Attorney-General shall be the head. The bill provides for the transference to this new department of the Solicitor of the Treasury and the law officers of the other executive departments.

Diligent efforts were made to diminish the burdens of the people by reduction of tariffs and taxes, so far as was consistent with the maintenance of the nation's faith with its creditors. Taxes were repealed amounting to many millions of dollars per annum.

The income tax was a subject upon which much attention was bestowed. The Senate, in the second session, passed a bill for the continuance of the income tax at the rate of two and one half per cent. for two years, with an exemption of \$2,000. The House passed this bill with an amendment, striking out the limitation as to time.

In the third session strenuous efforts were made for the repeal of the income tax, but without success. The Senate passed a bill for this purpose January 26, but on the day after its passage the House returned the bill with the information that the Senate had exceeded its prerogative in originating a revenue bill. On the 7th of February the House referred a bill for the repeal of the tax to the Committee of the Whole. On the 9th a motion was made to go into committee for the purpose of considering the bill, which was lost, the vote being one hundred and three to one hundred and six. And thus the repeal failed of being accomplished.

A great number of railroad enterprises sought the encouragement of Congress. One of the most important of them was the Northern Pacific Railroad. The bill proposed by the friends of this measure passed the Senate April 21, 1870, and came before the House soon afterward. It met with very strong opposition, based for the most part on the objection to the policy of granting so large a proportion of the public lands to railroad companies. The bill finally passed the House, one hundred and seven voting for and eighty-five against the measure.

The Senate bill to incorporate the Texas or Southern Pacific Railroad passed the House with important amendments on the 21st. of February, 1871. A committee of conference reported March 2.

The bill as passed provides for a trunk road from Marshall, Texas, to San Diego, California, and two branch lines, one from New Orleans to the eastern boundary of Texas, and one from San Francisco to the western terminus of the line, or to connect with it on the thirty-fifth parallel, at or near the Colorado River.

The Civil Service Reform received a share of attention from this Congress. In the first session, on the 3d of May, Mr. Jenckes reported back to the House the bill to regulate the civil service of the United States, providing that all appointments of civil officers, except postmasters and such as are required by law to be appointed by the President, shall be made from those persons who shall have been found best qualified in open and competitive examinations, and after terms of probation to be conducted and regulated as prescribed in the bill. The bill was subsequently remodeled, and reported from the committee in the shape of a joint resolution, which, just at the close of the session, was passed as an amendment to the Civil Appropriation Bill. The bill authorizes the President to make rules prescribing the qualifications of government employes, and provide the means for testing the fitness of candidates.

Great efforts were made to secure the abolition of the Franking Privilege, but without avail. A bill for this object was passed in the House, near the beginning of the second session, by a vote of one hundred and seventy-four to fourteen. It failed to be carried in the Senate, twenty-six voting for and twenty-eight against the measure. In the third session an amendment to the postal law abolishing the Franking Privilege passed the House, one hundred and three voting for and sixty-five against it.

Attempts made to secure legislation for the purpose of reviving the commercial and navigation interests were unsuccessful. A select committee made an elaborate report on the subject, and proposed a bill, which failed to become a law. The President recommended, in a special message, that a law be passed authorizing the purchase of foreign-built vessels, to meet the emergency produced by the breaking out of the war in Europe. The recommendation occasioned some debate, but resulted in no definite action.

A Census Bill, perfected with much labor, which passed the House, was rejected by the Senate, and, as a consequence, the ninth census was taken in accordance with the law of 1850. A bill for the apportionment of representation under the census of 1870 fixed the number of Representatives at three hundred, with a proviso that States having a fraction exceeding one half over the amount of population required for representation shall be entitled to an additional member.

The Forty-first Congress, while adhering to the humane policy respecting the Indians previously adopted, made still further advances toward a wise and liberal treatment of that unfortunate race. A provision was inserted in the Indian Appropriation Bill putting an end to the absurd practice of treating with Indians as with foreign nations.

Vigorous measures were adopted for the suppression of polygamy in the Territory of Utah. Among the first measures considered in this Congress was a bill for that purpose, reported in the House from the Committee on Territories. The measure came up in the second session in the form of a bill to aid in the execution of the laws in Utah Territory, which passed the House March 23, 1870, ninety-four voting for and thirty-two against the measure.

Among the important miscellaneous measures passed by this Congress were, a bill fixing the first Monday in November as the day for electing Representatives and Delegates to Congress in all the States and Territories, and a bill relating to the subject of naturalization, reducing the period of residence to three years. Proceedings for naturalization are to be taken in the State courts, but the Federal courts have jurisdiction over all parties charged with fraud.

Many benevolent acts, which were at the same time acts of justice, were passed by the Forty-first Congress—such as a bill granting a life annuity to the widow of President Lincoln; a bill granting pensions to all the surviving soldiers of the War of 1812 who served sixty days; a bill granting one year's salary to the widows and orphans of the officers and seamen lost on the Oneida; and

a bill providing every soldier disabled in the late war with an artificial limb once every five years.

The executive sessions of the Senate were principally occupied with the consideration of nominations to office. The President, by proclamation, convened the Senate on the 12th of April, 1869, after the adjournment of the first session, for the consideration of executive business. During the session which closed on the 22d of April more than one thousand nominations for office were acted upon.

The most important business of this executive session was the consideration of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Reverdy Johnson with Great Britain in relation to the Alabama claims. On the 14th of April Mr. Sumner, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, presented a report against the ratification of the treaty. He accompanied the report with an elaborate speech, reviewing the whole question in controversy. The treaty was rejected in the Senate by a vote of fifty-four to one.

Great prudence was manifested by Congress in avoiding any action which might implicate our Government with foreign powers. Although the profoundest sympathies of the country were with the Cubans in their struggle for independence, nothing was done which could be construed into even the appearance of toleration for a violation of strict neutrality. A resolution was adopted authorizing the President to appoint Commissioners to make investigations respecting San Domingo; but there was manifested a strong opposition to the policy annexing that republic to the United States.

Many other subjects of legislation are referred to in the following pages, frequently in the language of the men who were the chief actors in the scenes. Undoubtedly, the greatest achievement of this Congress, and that for which it will be remembered through all time, was the final and full restoration of the revolted States to practical relations to the Union. While accomplishing this great result it gave new impulse to the general prosperity, aided in reducing the national debt, and did much to place the country in that commanding position among the nations of the earth to which its title is now for the first time universally recognized.



Schuyler Colfax

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE SENATE.

SCHUYLER COLFAX,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)



At the Republican National Convention which met in Chicago in 1868, Mr. Colfax was nominated for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and was elected in November of that year, receiving two hundred and seventeen electoral votes out of a total of two hundred and eighty-five. In response to the committee appointed by the two Houses of Congress to inform him of his election, February 15, 1869, Mr. Colfax said: "I shall endeavor to prove worthy of this mark of confidence by fidelity to principle and duty."

On the occasion of tendering his resignation as Speaker of the House, March 3, 1869, Mr. Colfax delivered a brief and appropriate address, in which he said that he had "striven to perform faithfully every duty," and that, devoted to the principles which he deemed correct, the honor and glory of the country had always been to him paramount above all party ties. On the motion of Mr. Woodward, the House unanimously passed a resolution expressive of its "high appreciation of his skill in parliamentary law, of his promptness in administering the rules and facilitating the business of the body, of his urbane manners, and of the dignity and impartiality with which he has presided over the deliberations of the House."

On the 4th of March, 1869, Vice-President Colfax entered upon the discharge of his duties of President of the Senate, which he performed in such a manner as fully to meet the high expectations of the country and the unanimous approval of the Senate.

JOSEPH C. ABBOTT.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Abbott served on the Committees on Military Affairs and the Militia, the Pacific Railroad, and Enrolled Bills. On a resolution for creating a Committee on the removal of disabilities Mr. Abbott, while not opposing the creation of such a committee, said: "We had better make haste slowly in this matter of removing disabilities from men who have committed the crime of treason." Speaking on the Currency Bill, he urged that the withdrawal of greenbacks and the issue of bank circulation would be unjust to the South. He further objected to a feature of the bill as making "unjust distinction between the old banks and the new ones."

In his preliminary remarks on the restoration of Georgia Mr. Abbott said that "we ought always to remember, when we are dealing with the question of reconstruction, that we are in a measure outside of formulas and precedents and law as deduced from experience and constitutional provisions. The Constitution did not seem to contemplate the disruption of the Union, such as we have seen, and consequently there was no precise provision for its reconstruction. We are, politically, like Columbus when his prows pointed out into the unknown sea, where the old counting of stars, after the manner of the Trojans, was useless. We are, in statesmanship, beyond highways and beaten paths. We are in a wilderness of statesmanship, where there is no path except that which we hew as we proceed. . . . We have a work to do. The old structure was mutilated; we are to rebuild it."

Mr. Abbott was firm and uncompromising in his views relating to the reconstruction of the seceded States. He had little patience with that class of legislators who assumed to be over-scrupulous in respect to the Constitution, and who are so embarrassed by constitutional scruples as to shrink back from all efficient legislation. He affirmed the propriety and necessity of the interference of the General Government to reconstruct, and, after reconstruction was enacted, to still throw the ægis of its protection over all unprotected localities; and he believed this latter to be the intent of the Constitution wherever local authority fails to shield life and property.



Herbert F. Foss

ADELBERT AMES.



DELBERT AMES was born at Rockland, Maine, October 31, 1835. He received an academic education in his native State, and was admitted to the United States Military Academy as a cadet July 1, 1856. He graduated, ranking fifth in his class, May 6, 1861, an opportune moment, for, the War of the Rebellion having just broken out, there was a loud and urgent call from the country for men of military education for her service. Mr. Ames immediately entered upon active duty as 2d Lieutenant of the Second Artillery. His first duty was drilling volunteers in Washington, in which he was employed until July, when he participated in the memorable Manassas campaign. In the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, he was severely wounded, and was breveted Major for his gallant and meritorious services. He was disabled by his wounds until September, when he resumed active duty and served in the defenses of Washington until March, 1862. He then participated in the Virginia Peninsular campaign, and was engaged in the siege of Yorktown, the battle of Gaines' Mill, and the battle of Malvern Hill, where his gallant conduct earned promotion to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

He was appointed Colonel of the 20th Regiment of Maine Volunteers, August 29, 1862, and a few days later was with his command in the battle of Antietam. He then took part in the Rappahannock campaign, engaging in the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. He was in the battle of Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863, acting as Aid-de-camp to General Meade. Having been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers, he command a brigade at the battle of Beverly Ford, May 20, 1863. He fought in the battle of Gettysburgh, July 1, 2, and 3, 1863, and engaged in the pursuit

of the enemy to Warrenton, Virginia. For his gallantry in the battle of Gettysburg he was breveted Colonel in the regular army. From August, 1863, to the following April, he engaged in the operations of the Department of the South.

In command of a brigade or division of the 18th Army Corps he aided in the operations before Petersburg, engaging in the action of Whitehall Junction, May 7, 1864, and the battle of Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864. Subsequently, in command of a division of the 10th Army Corps, he engaged in the actions of Darbytown Road. He afterward joined in the first and second expeditions against Fort Fisher, participating in the assault and capture of that stronghold, January 15, 1865. For his distinguished services on this occasion he was breveted Major-General of Volunteers. He was mustered out of the Volunteer service April 30, 1866.

In consideration of gallant and meritorious services in the field during the Rebellion he was breveted Major-General in the regular army. Under the Reconstruction Act he was appointed Provisional Governor of Mississippi, June 15, 1868, and was appointed to the command of the Fourth Military District, Department of Mississippi, March 17, 1869. He was elected United States Senator from Mississippi, January 18, 1870. His credentials having been presented to the Senate, were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, who reported that General Ames was not entitled to the seat in the Senate to which he had been appointed, Mr. Rice alone of the Committee dissenting from this conclusion. An exhaustive and able debate ensued, running through several days, in which was discussed the meaning of the constitutional requirement that a man to be a Senator must be an "inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen," and whether it was in the power of a person in the military service to choose his place of residence. Finally, April 1, 1870, the Senate disagreed to the report of the Judiciary Committee by a vote of forty to twelve, and Mr. Ames was immediately sworn in as a Senator of the United States. He was appointed on the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, and the Select Committee on the Removal of Political Disabilities.

HENRY B. ANTHONY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

On the election of the Senate Committees for the Forty-first Congress Mr. Anthony was continued in the Chairmanship of the Committee on Printing, and was also placed on the Committees on Naval Affairs and Mines and Mining. He was unanimously elected President of the Senate *pro tempore*.

The following is from the speech of Mr. Anthony on the occasion of the presentation by Rhode Island to the Congress of the United States of the statue of General Nathaniel Greene, now standing in the old hall of the House of Representatives :

Among those who in the Revolutionary period won titles to the national gratitude never disavowed, he whose statue we have placed in the Capitol stands, in the judgment of his contemporaries and by the assent of history, second only to the man who towers without a peer in the annals of America. I shall not attempt an analysis of his character, nor an enumeration of the great deeds upon which his fame securely rests; nor shall I discuss that fertility of resources by which he supplied an army from an impoverished country without disaffecting the population; that marvelous skill and conduct by which he wrung the results of victory from the very jaws of defeat, and with inferior forces drove and scattered before him a well-appointed and disciplined enemy, flushed with the insolence of conquest; that self-reliance and persistence by which he refused every suggestion to abandon the Southern campaign, and from the field of disaster declared, "I will recover the Carolinas or perish in the attempt!" How well he proved these words no idle boast—how well he kept his pledge—I do not propose to repeat.

Pending the consideration of the Tax Bill, Mr. Anthony, in advising that sulphur be placed on the free list, presented as a reason the following interesting statement:

We all know that there has been lately discovered in South Carolina, as my friend from that State has just referred to it, a mineral wealth which is infinitely greater than the discovery of gold or silver. There have been discovered phosphates underlying the soil, I do not know to what extent, which, when combined with sulphuric acid, will make fertilizers sufficient to rejuvenate the whole of the worn-out land of the South—worth more than a dozen guano islands. But this product cannot be utilized without sulphuric acid; it cannot be generally utilized without cheap sulphuric acid; and we cannot have cheap sulphuric acid unless we have cheap sulphur.

Differing from some other Senators, Mr. Anthony justified the Postmaster-General in requesting the postmasters to consult the people for ascertaining their wishes touching the abolition of the Franking Privilege.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.



THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD was born at Wilmington, Delaware, October 28, 1828. His father and grandfather were both Senators of the United States—the latter having also been Minister to France, and one of the Commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Ghent.

The subject of this sketch was chiefly educated at the Flushing school, established by Rev. Dr. F. L. Hawks. His early training was for mercantile life, but he studied for and adopted the profession of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1851, and, with the exception of two years in Philadelphia, has always practiced in his native city. In 1853 he was appointed United States District-Attorney for Delaware, but resigned in the following year for the purpose of devoting himself to his own professional business. He was elected to the United States Senate, as a Democrat, to succeed his father, Hon. James A. Bayard, who had been appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. George Read Riddle. Mr. Bayard took his seat in the Senate March 4, 1869, and was appointed on the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Private Land Claims, and the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States.

From his entrance into the Senate, Mr. Bayard has borne a prominent and able part in debate. In his speech on the Civil Tenure Law he took a decided stand against the mere *suspension* of the law and in favor of its absolute repeal, believing it to be uncalled for, and without constitutional warrant.

In his remarks upon the bill authorizing the submission to the people of the Constitutions of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, Mr.

Bayard thus gave expression to his views of Congressional Reconstruction :

The bill is but a little more in its character than a confirmation of the series of measures called reconstruction, to the whole of which in letter and in spirit I have ever been opposed ; and if for no other, for the very antiquated reason that seems to have lost so much of its influence upon the minds of the members of this body. I mean that I believe that the whole of those measures, as well as the present proposed law, are in direct, open, and flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter of the fundamental law of this country that we have all sworn to sustain.


Mr. Bayard excepted to the bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment as grasping the whole control of elections, and intended not to prevent discrimination between races, but to discriminate directly against the white race and in favor of the black. He also opposed the bill for abolishing the Franking Privilege, and animadverted with some severity upon the supposed influence of the Post-Office Department in procuring the multitude of petitions flowing in upon Congress for this object.

Mr. Bayard repelled the attempt to fix the responsibility of Mr. M'Creery's resolution looking to the restoration of Arlington to Mrs. Lee upon the Democratic party, and said :

Mr. President, when I came to this city a year ago last March, one of my first visits was to the cemetery at Arlington. I had never before visited that great sepulchre of my fellow-countrymen ; and as I stood there and saw the myriad graves in their long rows fading away in the distance, I am not ashamed to say that my sight grew dim, and my eyes misty, when I thought of the sufferings civil war had brought to my countrymen. "Rebel," as you term them, and "Union" soldiers, as you term them, lay there together in their long last sleep, and were at peace ; and I almost envied that sleep if it brought the peace which seems from this debate to be to-day so far from the hearts of those who survive them. . . .

Why, sir, the very feeling that any American, come he from the North or the South, the East or the West, of our broad land, must have in visiting the heights at Arlington, must be that there is one of the cemeteries of the nation, and that it would be impossible to change the character of that ground or contemplate its dedication to any other use. The thing cannot be thought of, sir ; it cannot be considered. "The perishing dead who are past all pain" are there ; they occupy the land ; and surely there is "ample room and verge enough" left for those of us who are living to wander and occupy elsewhere, without dreaming of disturbing that repose which in a little time we all must seek, and the general sense of humanity instructs us to respect.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

RANCIS P. BLAIR was born in Lexington, Kentucky, February 19, 1821. He graduated at Princeton College, and adopted the profession of law. He was a member of the Missouri Legislature in 1852 and 1854. He was elected a Representative from Missouri to the Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-seventh Congresses, serving during the latter Congress as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. He entered the Union Army as a Colonel of Volunteers in 1861, in 1862 was appointed a Major General, and was subsequently re-elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress. During the first session of that Congress he resigned his seat to resume his position in the army.

He was nominated by President Johnson Collector of Internal Revenue in 1866, and was rejected by the Senate. His subsequent nomination for Minister to Austria was also rejected. On the 30th of June, 1868, he wrote his celebrated "Brodhead Letter," in which he said, "There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State Governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own Governments, and elect Senators and Representatives." A few days later Mr. Blair was nominated by the New York National Convention as the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency, but was defeated in the November election. He was elected to the State Legislature of Missouri in 1870, and was subsequently elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Drake, and took his seat January 25, 1871. He was immediately placed upon the Committees on the Pacific Railroad, Education, and Labor, and Post-Offices and Post-Roads.



Frank P. Blair



A. J. Bremner

ARTHUR I. BOREMAN.



ARTHUR INGHIRAM BOREMAN was born in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, July 24, 1823. His grandfather was born in London, and, coming to this country before the Revolutionary War, became a pay-master in the Continental army, and subsequently settling at Waynesburg, he held all the various clerk's offices for the county many years. When the subject of this sketch was a child his father removed to Western Virginia, where he received a common-school education, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1845, and commenced the practice at Parkersburg. In 1855 he was elected to the House of Delegates of Virginia, and during six years represented his neighbors in that capacity at Richmond. He was in the State Legislature in the extra session in the spring of 1861, taking an active part against the secession movement. While the Legislature was in session a Convention was held in Richmond for the purpose of carrying Virginia out of the Union. Excitement became very great. The Legislature was lost sight of in the superior importance of the deliberations of the Convention. Mr. Boreman left Richmond finally, after the adjournment of the Legislature, about the time the ordinance of secession was passed, with the determination of doing his utmost to stay the progress of rebellion. He was president of the Wheeling Convention, held in 1861 for the purpose of reorganizing the government of Virginia. In October of that year he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court, and held that office until 1863, when, the old state of Virginia having been divided and West Virginia constructed, Mr. Boreman was unanimously chosen the first Governor, no vote being cast against him. In 1864 another gubernatorial election was held, and he was again unanimously elected, receiving 19,098 votes. In 1866 he was

elected for the third time. A Democratic candidate was put up against him, but Governor Boreman received 23,802 votes to 17,158 for his opponent, a majority of 6,644. As Governor he cordially and efficiently co-operated with the General Government in the work of suppressing the rebellion. Under his administration more than 33,000 troops were sent into the field, who were among the bravest and most efficient soldiers in the Union armies. Governor Boreman made efficient use of the means at his disposal within his own State, seldom calling on the War Department for aid, which, whenever called for, was promptly granted. Secretary Stanton, after the close of the war, repeatedly expressed himself in terms of highest commendation of Governor Boreman's administration, and his efficient co-operation with the government at Washington. Such was the sleepless vigilance and tireless energy of Governor Boreman during the war, and amid the emergencies, equally trying, of the years immediately following, that his health was seriously and permanently impaired; not, however, to such a degree as to prevent him from giving further service to the country.

In 1868 Mr. Boreman declined a re-election as Governor, and was in the following year chosen United States Senator, to succeed Peter G. Van Winkle, for the term of six years from the 4th of March, 1869. During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Boreman served on the Committees on Manufactures, Territories, and the Removal of Political Disabilities. The principal speech made by him during this Congress was on the bill to admit the State of Georgia to representation. He viewed the subject as "involving questions of great State policy, and not of mere technical law," and urged that "the hesitating policy which had characterized the action of Congress at almost every step, since the close of the war, looking to the reconstruction of the rebel States, should not lead us to commit an irreparable injury in the case of Georgia." He comprehensively reviewed the course of Congress in reconstruction, which "after near two years of temporizing" at length began in earnest, and "has been progressing in the midst of opposition and obstacle to the present time."



W. G. Brewster

WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW.



WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW was born in Wythe County, Va., August 29, 1805. Until eighteen years old he was reared to labor, and afterward served as a regular apprentice to a house-carpenter. "I have been a laboring man," he states, "all my life long, and have acted upon the scriptural maxim of eating my bread in the sweat of my brow;" and it was one of his declared sentiments that labor was not degrading, was dignified rather, and essential to the welfare of the country.

Mr. Brownlow's education, as may be inferred, was imperfect, and was defective, as he asserts, even in those branches taught in the common schools of the country. Like many other indigent but worthy young men, he acquired by his trade the means of supplying the defects of early mental training. After this he entered the Methodist itinerant ministry, traveling during ten years without intermission, and availed himself meanwhile of his position to improve still further his limited education, especially in all the English branches.

After retiring from the itinerant ministry Mr. Brownlow commenced the editing and publishing of the *Knoxville Whig*, in which occupation he continued for twenty-five years, his paper having a larger circulation than any political newspaper in the State of Tennessee, and taking meanwhile an active part in all the religious and political controversies of the time. He published meanwhile several books, mostly of a controversial character. At the same time, though much of a controversialist, he seems nevertheless to have been a man of peace, and singularly free from the prevalent vices of the day. "I have never," he says, "been arraigned in the Church for any immorality. I never played a card. I never was a profane swearer. I never drank a dram of liquor until within a few years, when it was taken as a medicine. I

never had a cigar or a chew of tobacco in my mouth. I never was in attendance at a theater. I never attended a horse-race, and never witnessed their running save on fair grounds of my own county. I never courted but one woman, and her I married."

Mr. Brownlow was in politics an "Old Line Whig," and his confession of political faith he thus expresses: "I am the advocate of a *concentrated* Federal government, or of a strong central government, able to maintain its dignity, to assert its authority, and to crush out any rebellion that may be inaugurated. I have never been a *sectional*, but at all times a *national* man, supporting men for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency without any regard on which side of Mason and Dixon's line they were born or resided at the time of their nomination; in a word, I am, as I ever have been, an ardent *Whig*, and Clay and Webster have ever been my standards of political orthodoxy. With the breaking up of old parties I have merged every thing into the great question of the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws."

From all this it followed that Mr. Brownlow was among the sternest and most uncompromising of Union men, and a bitter and unrelenting foe of secession. This he fought early and late, through all evil report, and at the greatest hazard to life and limb, and contended against it with the severest blows of logic, with the most scathing and terrible denunciations, and even with the keenest shafts of ridicule. On the eve of secession, and always before, he was equally pitted against the abolitionism of the North. A strong pro-slavery man, and having a tendency to controversy, he had persistently advocated from a scriptural stand-point the propriety and righteousness of American slavery, and was long recognized as one of its principal champions in the South. Standing between these two great evils, as he viewed them, he dealt his heaviest blows upon them both; but as he beheld the demon of secession actually rearing and spreading itself over the Southern States, it at once revealed itself to him as a calamity more to be dreaded than the abolition of slavery. If he favored the latter, he, however, prized the union of these

States far more, and if one or the other must perish, he preferred it should be slavery.

It could not be otherwise than that the bold and determined stand assumed by Mr. Brownlow, both by pen and voice, against secession, should bring against him in return a fearful array of hostility, denunciation, and ultimate persecution. One of the earlier manifestations of hatred and enmity was the withdrawal of patronage from his paper, together with the ungracious addresses accompanying such withdrawal.

In March, 1861, Mr. Brownlow issued several thousands of copies of a circular declaring himself a candidate for the office of Governor of Tennessee, but subsequently withdrew from the contest in favor of another candidate, whom he supposed to be more likely to defeat secession. In the following autumn, as the result of publishing in his paper several taunting and ironical calls to the secession leaders in East Tennessee to volunteer as soldiers, his paper was promptly suppressed, and his arrest was determined upon. With this prospect before him he writes, "I expect to go to jail, and I am ready to start upon one moment's warning. Not only so, but there I am prepared to lie in solitary confinement until I waste away because of imprisonment, or die from old age. Stimulated by a consciousness of innocent uprightness, I will submit to imprisonment for life or die at the end of a rope before I will make any humiliating concession to any power on earth. I shall in no degree feel humbled by being cast into prison; but, on the contrary, I shall feel proud of my confinement. I shall go to jail, as John Rodgers went to the stake, for my *principles*. I shall go because I have failed to recognize the hand of God in the breaking up of the American Government, and the inauguration of the most wicked, cruel, unnatural, and uncalled-for war ever recorded in history."

After the suppression of his paper, however, and previously to his imprisonment, Mr. Brownlow, at his home in Knoxville, was the subject of daily insults from the secessionists, accompanied with threats against his life. Under these circumstances he was per-

suaded by his family and other friends to retire for a season from his home, and conceal himself from his murderous enemies. He accordingly took leave of his family early in November, and, with a few other loyal men, withdrew into the Smoky Mountains, separating North Carolina from Tennessee, a wild region, difficult of access, and quite beyond the precincts of civilization. Here the party encamped, receiving during the time their supplies from friends who were aware of their hiding-place. The fugitives, especially Brownlow, were diligently searched for by their enemies, until prudence dictated a separation and dispersion to different localities. Mr. Brownlow, with a companion, left the mountains by night, and after a ride of about forty miles on horseback, came by morning to a resting-place six miles from Knoxville, where they were provided with comfortable lodgings at the house of a friend. While here he was promised by the secession General Crittenden a passport and military escort to go to Kentucky, as being a too influential and troublesome man to be tolerated within the Confederate lines. He reported himself accordingly to General Crittenden, received a renewal of the promise of passport and escort, and was to start on the morning of December 7. Before the appointed time arrived, however, he was arrested on a warrant for treason, failed of protection from Crittenden, refused a trial and bail, and was committed to the common jail. Here about one hundred and fifty Union men, old and young, were incarcerated, and so crowded was the building that there was not room for all to lie down at once, but the prisoners were obliged to sleep and rest by turns. Many of these prisoners were old and tried friends of Mr. Brownlow, and hailed his entrance among them with surprise and tears. Finding them generally depressed in spirits, and fearing the worst, he addressed them, saying, "Gentlemen, don't take your confinement so much to heart; rather glory in it as patriots devoted to your country and to your principles. . . . I am here with you to share your sorrows and sufferings, and here I intend to stay until the rebels release me or execute me, or until the Federal army shall come to

my rescue. You may take a different view of the subject, but I regard this as the proudest day of my life."


After a confinement of nearly a month Mr. Brownlow was taken with severe sickness, and, on the application of his physician, was permitted to exchange the confinement of the prison for a private room on his own premises, where he was guarded as at the jail. Here he continued till the first of March, when the officer in command of the post was authorized by the Richmond Government to send him within the Federal lines, where he was received with the most cordial welcome.

Mr. Brownlow, shortly after reaching Nashville, proceeded north, and visited many of the principal cities, taking in his route Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Harrisburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, addressing crowds of people wherever he came, and being everywhere received with flattering welcome. A few weeks after his departure from Knoxville, Mrs. Brownlow received notice that herself and family would be required to pass beyond the Confederate lines within thirty-six hours, and that passports would be granted them accordingly. They reached Bordentown, N. J., in safety, where Mr. Brownlow was waiting to receive them.

Mr. Brownlow was a member of the Constitutional Convention for the reorganization of the State of Tennessee, and on the 4th of March, 1865, was elected Governor with almost no opposition. In 1867 he was re-elected against Emerson Etheridge, the opposition candidate, and on March 4, 1869, took his seat in the Senate of the United States to succeed David T. Patterson.

Mr. Brownlow was placed on the Committees on Pensions and Revolutionary Claims. His state of health seems to have prevented him from an extended record of service in the Forty-first Congress, although no Senator was more constant in his attendance upon the sessions of the Senate. At its first session he on the 15th of December had leave to present, as a personal explanation, a speech in the form of a letter relating to a previous election in Tennessee.

WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM.

ILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM was born in Lebanon, Conn., May 24, 1804. At the age of twenty he commenced a course of training for mercantile life, and two years later established himself as a merchant in the city of Norwich, where his career has been alike successful and honorable. His enterprising life, his prudence, thrift, punctuality, and spotless integrity, have given him in the business circles of the country a name without blemish or reproach.

In 1858 he was elected Governor of Connecticut, and was successively re-elected in the seven years following. From the commencement of the national troubles he conceived that compromise with the South was impossible, that the great struggle for liberty in this country was at hand, and that no human agency could avert the storm. Hence the news of the fall of Sumter, and the Presidential call for troops, found Governor Buckingham awake to the great crisis, and though the State Legislature was not in session, yet his extensive financial relations enabled him to command at once the necessary funds for equipping the militia for the field. Influential and strong men were ready to co-operate with him at this critical period, and the Governor gave himself with a will to the great work; and when, by the uprising of rebellion in Maryland, Washington was deemed in imminent peril, the first tidings received from the North was that Connecticut was rising as one man for the rescue of the government, thus giving assurance to the President that the national capital was safe.

The advanced and enlightened views of Governor Buckingham at this very beginning of the great struggle are noteworthy and remarkable. In an official communication to President Lincoln he insisted that this was no ordinary rebellion; that more than



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300,000 men were already organized and armed against the government; that these gigantic preparations should be met and suppressed by a power of corresponding magnitude; that the principles of equity and justice, the claims of humanity, civilization, and religion unite in demanding a sufficient force to drive the rebels from every field; that half a million of men should at once be raised for this purpose; that all other legislation than what was demanded for suppressing the rebellion should be deemed out of place until the authority of the government should be respected in every section of the country; and he pledged the State of Connecticut, with its entire resources, to co-operate with the General Government in carrying out the strong and patriotic measures which he suggested.

Thus Governor Buckingham possessed a clearer vision of the importance and magnitude of the rebellion than many other statesmen. He had little faith that "the war would be over in sixty days," or in "three months," nor, as it loomed up in greater and more alarming proportions, did his energy and courage falter in the least degree. He was among the earliest to urge upon the President the policy of emancipation, alleging strong and unanswerable arguments in its favor; and when at length the cautious yet brave Lincoln sent forth his proclamation of September 24, 1862, the equally brave Governor of Connecticut was among the first to congratulate him and the country. Indeed, from the beginning to the end Governor Buckingham was one of those efficient and loyal magistrates who rallied closely around President Lincoln, advising and cheering him in the dark hours of the war, assuring him of the fidelity of the people, and that the loyal masses of the North would carry him safely through the mighty struggle.

The Republicans of Connecticut signified their appreciation of his services to the State and the nation in electing him to the United States Senate, to succeed Hon. James Dixon, and he took his seat on the 4th of March, 1869. He was assigned a place in the Committees on Commerce, Engrossed Bills, and Indian Affairs.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Cameron, in the election of the Senate Committees for the Forty-first Congress, was continued as Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and was again appointed upon the Committee on Foreign Relations and that on Military Affairs. One of his earlier speeches in this Congress was upon the resolution of Mr. Carpenter, amended by Mr. Trumbull, relating to *employés* in the Executive Departments. He favored the resolution. "The evil," said he, "in regard to these appointments is that Senators sign papers to get rid of the applicants. This has been the habit for long years. Importunate persons come here and ask us out of the chamber to go into another room; and, rather than talk to them, we sign their papers, often without reading them. . . . You all know that every day there is hardly a Senator who is not called out twenty times. I think this is a moderate estimate. I am sometimes called out fifty times to see people. They present you a paper; it is a great deal easier to sign the paper than talk with them, and so it is signed." He adds, in conclusion, "We are to judge of these cases, and we are to decide whether the President has made a proper nomination or not; and why shall we encumber him with petitions? Let him send his nominations here, and let us judge whether or not they are proper persons to fill the places, and then we shall be respected as we deserve."

From the speech of Mr. Cameron, April 22, 1869, in vindication of General Burnside, we extract the following:

This, therefore, was the condition of affairs when I visited the battle-field, (Bull Run.) Some of the regiments were, according to their own convictions and by my decision, no longer forced to remain in the field and to participate in the fight of the following day. Before I could reach them to appeal to their manhood, a portion of the troops from my own State had left the field. A New York battery, against my importunities, marched from the field also. The imminent danger now was that these examples would lead to a disintegration of our army on the eve of an important engagement; and I then, relying, as I had always done, on Burnside and his splendid troops, appealed to him to show another and a nobler example to the army. His answer was worthy of that excellent man and soldier. He said the fathers and mothers of the men he commanded properly held him responsible for every unnecessary danger their sons endured, and if he were to admit that they were forced to remain, and thereby a hair of one of their heads should fall, their blood would be upon his

head. "But," said he, "those to whom I must render an account for the lives of my soldiers will eagerly approve their act and mine if I lead them to battle as volunteers who, being empowered by the Secretary to depart without dishonor, are asked to remain as a duty to their country. We will stay and fight!" . . . What General Burnside did after that needs not to be repeated here. The history of his country will tell that when his friends and his enemies are alike unable to discuss his merits and demerits in this chamber.

We have only space for one or two brief extracts from Mr. Cameron's speech of May 17, 1870, on the Bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment:

I have thought a great deal of this southern question. I have seen it in all its aspects, and I want now only a law which will secure to the negro the right to vote as the Constitution contemplates he shall. I was invited only last fall, in November, I believe, to go to the Southern States. I went to Georgia, Florida, and some other States, and I found there no disposition to carry out the kindness of the North toward the South. The rebels of the war were rebels still. . . . In every house I heard them speaking with contempt of the northern men who had gone among them. The "scalawags and carpet-baggers" were their constant theme of contempt, and everywhere were eulogies of the men who had fought and distinguished themselves in the Rebellion. . . . I tell you that in a few years no portion of the world of the same extent will be so rich, so powerful in wealth and money, as the Southern States; and when that time comes no man who settles among them from the North will be safe. No matter how much he may yield to them now, even though he may get down on his knees here and say they are compelled to violate the law, or to take fools or rascals for the offices, that will not save him when the southerners are relieved from all disabilities and are allowed to vote as they did before the Rebellion. Does any man here who thinks on the subject believe that there is not an idea now in the southern mind that all the debt incurred by the southern traitors in the Rebellion shall be paid by this Government? If he does, he is more ignorant than I believe him to be. That idea there is in the mind of every body; and some day, not far distant from now, if you take off all the disabilities from these people and allow the traitors to come here, a law will be passed which will compel this Government to pay the debt of the rebellious States.

These extracts must suffice. They abundantly evince the clearness and directness with which Mr. Cameron expresses his ideas, while the simplicity and frankness of his discourse are equaled only by the glow of his patriotism. No man in or out of the Senate Chamber more finely illustrates the advice once given by the Duke of Wellington to a young member of Parliament: "Tell just what you have to say, and don't quote Latin."

MATTHEW H. CARPENTER.



MATTHEW H. CARPENTER was born December 22, 1824, at Mooretown, Washington County, Vermont. In June, 1843, at the age of nineteen, he bore the requisite examination and was entered a cadet at West Point, where he maintained an honorable position until he resigned in 1845, on account of ill health, while his class was on furlough.

He soon thereafter entered upon the study of the law in the office of the Hon. Paul Dillingham, of Waterbury, Vermont, under whose instruction, and by a course of systematic reading, he acquired a knowledge of those solid elementary principles of the law which have been the ground-work of his future success at the Bar. His great aptitude in grouping and comprehending principles, his powers of reasoning and critical analysis, his readiness of perception and retentive memory, with intense application, soon made him complete master of the learning and theories of his profession, and perfectly qualified him for admission to the Bar, and he was accordingly admitted at Montpelier, Vermont, in the spring of 1847. He immediately entered upon the practice and active duties of his profession in no obscure place, and with none of that doubting timidity that shrinks from competition, for he sought a position in the office of Hon. Rufus Choate, of Boston, as his assistant, and continued with that great lawyer, at the period of his highest maturity and greatest practice, until July, 1848. How much familiar intercourse with Mr. Choate, socially and professionally, and the exalted abilities, eloquence, peculiar manner, and high standing as a lawyer of such an example and instructor may have influenced a young man so impressible as Mr. Carpenter, and so capable of appreciating such high qualities, cannot be known. But however



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much of an impetus may have been, and certainly was, given to his progress by such a connection, and however much his ambition and emulation may have been excited, he became no mere copyist or imitator, but has always maintained his own natural manner and peculiar style of oratory. And yet the advantages of such instruction and intercourse must have been most efficient and salutary in forming and shaping his future career, as we know they have been in securing his lasting admiration and gratitude.

After being admitted to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts he went to Beloit, Wisconsin, one of the most flourishing young cities of the State, and commenced his independent career as a lawyer, with scarcely any other means than his ready and commanding abilities as a counselor and advocate, and secured from the start a large and lucrative practice. He was soon elected to the office of District-Attorney of Rock County, and held it for two terms with great credit to himself and usefulness to the public. He very soon attained the highest rank among a Bar conceded to be as able as any in the West, and was unexcelled as a profound lawyer and eloquent advocate, and no lawyer anywhere has been engaged in more cases or of greater importance. In 1851 he conducted a cause involving the questions of dedication to public use, of the legality of city plats, and of estoppel by deed and *in pais* concerning a public landing on Rock River, in the city of Beloit. The case came to the Supreme Court of the State when at that time in that Court such questions were new, and Mr. Carpenter's brief, reported in full with the opinion of the Court, is a masterpiece of legal investigation and learning, and the most elaborate to be found in the reports of that Court, passing in review the leading authorities of England and this country on the question involved—over one hundred cited cases.

In 1856 that very remarkable proceeding by *quo warranto* to try the title of the office of Governor of Wisconsin, between the relator Bashford and the incumbent Barstow, was argued in the Supreme Court. Mr. Carpenter was the leading counsel for the respondent. The questions were then new and very important,

involving an inquiry into the constitutional principles of our State governments and the relative power of the departments, and his brief in that cause, with an abstract of his argument, showing a clear understanding of the subject and great research, were also published with the opinion of the Court in the Wisconsin Reports. These two cases are not mentioned because they were the only ones of great importance in which he was thus early engaged, but as indicating the class of causes in which his services were sought, and which he was deemed fully able to manage.

His practice in Wisconsin constitutes a very large part of the judicial history of the State, and for several years past his has been the most familiar and attractive presence in the Supreme Court of the United States. He was retained by the late and lamented Stanton, when Secretary of War, to argue before the Supreme Court several important causes growing out of the reconstruction measures of Congress, and involving the constitutional powers of the Government. His able arguments in the *Garland* and *McAr-dle* cases bear indubitable evidence of his ability and high position in the highest ranks of the profession; and it is safe to assume that, more than any other lawyer in the country, he has impressed his views upon the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the disposition of the great and complicated questions arising from the war of the Rebellion and the anomalous condition of the reconstructed States. His legal practice has been most extensive and diversified, and his researches and knowledge in all branches of jurisprudence are exhaustive and profound. But as a mere lawyer and able counselor he is not alone distinguished. Although not often associated in the same individual, yet in him we find a remarkable combination of the highest powers of reason and logic, great learning, clear and impartial judgment, with the embellishments of imagination, eloquence, and wit. His exalted position both at the Bar and in the Senate, his forensic efforts and his addresses before popular assemblies, have exhibited him as an orator seldom rivaled, as all who have heard him will freely concede.


His literary acquirements are extensive, and his tastes cultivated

and refined. His intimate knowledge of books, of law, and of literature could only be acquired by the most constant and severe study and reading, and he has gathered the largest and best selected libraries of both law and miscellaneous literature in the country.

Of Mr. Carpenter's political life a few words will suffice. In the common acceptation of the word he has never been a politician or an office-seeker. Both by education and natural impulse he was a Jeffersonian Democrat, and he acted ably and disinterestedly with the Democratic party until he conscientiously believed that to continue longer his party connection would rank him with the enemies of his country, and he then, at the risk of odium and proscription, broke ranks, and has since stood shoulder to shoulder with the Republican party. He is now near the full maturity of his life, but by no means near the end of his acquirements and improvement; for his great industry, constant study, and untiring and restless activity must advance him still higher in the shining pathway on which he has entered.

Mr. Carpenter was elected a United States Senator from Wisconsin, and took his seat March 4, 1869. He served during the Forty-first Congress as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the Committee on Patents and the Patent-Office, and the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States. He bore a conspicuous and able part in the deliberations of the Forty-first Congress. Among his earliest remarks in the Senate was the expression of his views on strengthening the public credit, and in this discussion he assumed the highest ground in favor of coin payments to the full extent to which the Government was pledged to such payments. On the question of the admission of Georgia he opposed the Morton amendment requiring of that State, as a condition precedent of admission, the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Pending the question of the restoration of Virginia, Mr. Carpenter offered a proviso that she should not attempt to rescind the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. In an elaborate and able speech he opposed the abolition of the Franking Privilege.

EUGENE CASSERLY.

UGENE CASSERLY is a native of Ireland, born in 1823. When four years old he came with his parents to America and settled in New York city. Young Casserly fared better than most children of newly-arrived emigrants in the city, and instead of being left to the uncertain education of the streets, he received careful instruction in classical and general studies.

After leaving school he spent five years as an *attaché* of the newspaper press. Meanwhile, having studied law, he was in 1845 admitted to practice in the courts of New York. In 1846-47 he served as Corporation Attorney. He continued the practice of law in New York until 1850, when he went to California, and made his residence in San Francisco, where he has since resided. He began life in California as the publisher of a daily paper, and in 1851-52 was State printer. He then resumed the practice of law, which he continued until November, 1868, when he was elected United States Senator from California.

On taking his seat in the Senate, March 4, 1869, Mr. Casserly was placed on the Committees on Foreign Relations, Public Lands, and Printing. He began early to rank among the most active members and most frequent speakers of the Senate. His manner of addressing the body is fluent, easy, and generally unimpassioned. His views on all party questions, which are strongly Democratic, are presented clearly, often forcibly, and always persistently. His first extended speech was in favor of repealing the Civil-Tenure Act. He gave no countenance to the idea of merely suspending the law. Said he, "I am for the repeal of the law, pure and simple. I shall vote for that because I believe the Tenure-of-Office Act to be a violation of the Constitution, and to have engendered,

and, for the time, disturbed some of the most important balances of the Constitution."

To the general measures of Reconstruction Mr. Casserly presented an opposition stern, uncompromising, and invariable, and every step encountered his persistent hostility. On the question of Georgia's being required, previous to reinstatement, to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, he said :

What has Congress to do with the ratification by the States? The function of Congress is ended when it proposes. It has nothing else to do with the subject; just as the function of the President is ended, in appointing to office, when he proposes a name to you. Suppose he should surround this Chamber with an armed force, and forbid you to go out for meat, drink, candle-light, or fire until you had agreed to his nominee, would that be a valid confirmation? Would that be an act of ratification which would bind any one? Would it bind this body any longer than until the external force was removed? That is entirely too plain for argument. Therefore I say that the coercion which, by the declarations of Senators, is to be exerted upon Georgia, whether it be expressed in the bill or omitted from it, is coercion that invalidates all ratifications which have in any substantial or material degree been affected by that coercion.

Mr. Casserly favored the repeal of the Income Tax, insisting that the tax had outlived its time by at least two years, and that by its repeal the Senate would be doing a good work even if it were the only act of the present session. We present one more extract from the numerous speeches of Mr. Casserly, in which he evinces that, while a firm and consistent Democrat, he is capable of commending what he deems to be good, though the policy of a Republican administration. In the commencement of his speech on the Indian Appropriation Bill he remarked as follows :

The administration, in the assertion of an undoubted power, has seen fit to inaugurate a new policy in respect to Indian affairs. The distinguishing element of that policy is that it proposes, by means of a board of benevolent men, employing peaceful measures, to bring the Indian tribes of the plain under the humanizing influences of Christian civilization. Can any object be more noble? Can any be more honorable to the country? Looking at it in the lowest point of view, as a financial question, is any course so likely to turn out advantageously? Is it not worth a trial? I say with all my heart, Let the new policy be tried. I would not place the least obstruction in the way. I would not even speak too strongly of the many discouragements which our experience in the past may well suggest.

ALEXANDER G. CATTELL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cattell was a member of the Committee on Finance, and Chairman of the Committee on the Library. His addresses to the Senate during this Congress were brief, business-like, and always to the point. The following extract is from his touching remarks on the occasion of the announcement in the Senate of the death of Senator Fessenden :

“Mr. Fessenden was my friend. When, three years ago, I came to this Chamber, fresh from the busy walks of a stirring commercial life which afforded little time for the careful study of public affairs, a stranger to most of the members of the body, unfamiliar with the forms of legislation, deeply impressed with the responsibilities of my new position, and distrustful of my ability to do justice to my State, he took me by the hand, addressed to me generous words of encouragement, gave me his confidence and honored me with his friendship, and with all the kindness, delicacy, and affection of an elder brother he continued to the end to be my constant counselor and steadfast friend. At the very outset of my senatorial career he was kind enough to express a wish to have me placed on the Finance Committee, of which he was then Chairman; a position which, as a new member, I had no right to expect, but a compliment I fully appreciated. For more than two years it has been my privilege to occupy a seat by his side in this Chamber, kindly invited thereto by himself. I had, therefore, the advantage of enjoying to a large extent his brilliant and instructive conversation on subjects of public interest, and also ample opportunities to study the characteristics of his mind and heart, in the unrestricted social intercourse which such proximity naturally begets between friends.”

During the third session of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cattell suffered seriously from ill health, and was most of the time absent from his seat under medical treatment. He was, however, able to be in the Senate during the closing hours of this Congress, and on the night of the 3d of March made a speech in favor of an appropriation for the Navy Yard at League Island, that the Government might keep faith with Philadelphia.

(Continued from Fortieth Congress.)

In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Chandler was placed on the Committee on Commerce, and also on the Committee on Mines and Mining. His career in this Congress was marked by several characteristic speeches clearly evincing the ardor of his temperament and the strength of his convictions. In the conclusion of his remarks reviewing the case of Fitz John Porter, who, in view of certain alleged new evidence, desired a re-examination of his case, Mr. Chandler alluded to a confession of Porter that he "was not true to Pope, and there was no use in denying it," and proceeded as follows: "Mr. President, what was 'not true to Pope?' If he was not true to Pope, whom was he true to? Being true to Pope was being true to the country; 'not true to Pope' was being a traitor to the country. Sir, 'not true to Pope' meant the terrific fight of the 30th of August, with all the blood and all the horrors of that bitter day; 'not true to Pope' meant the battle of Antietam, with its thousands of slain and its other thousands maimed; 'not true to Pope' meant the first battle of Fredericksburg, with its twenty thousand slain and maimed; 'not true to Pope' covered the battles of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor, and all the dreadful battles that followed. Had Fitz John Porter been true to his Government Jackson would have been destroyed on the 29th of August, and on the 30th the rebels could scarcely have offered any resistance to our victorious army. 'Not true to Pope' meant three hundred thousand slain and two thousand millions of additional dollars expended. Sir, I wish to put this on the record for all time, that it may remain. Let Fitz John Porter thank God that he yet lives, and that he was not living at the time under a military government. I told General Pope in the first interview I had with him that I had only one fault to find in the whole conduct of the campaign, namely, 'that you ever allowed Fitz John Porter to leave that battle-field alive.' "

Mr. Chandler's speech of May 28, 1870, on the subject of American Commerce, was a masterly effort, and commanded close attention on the part of the entire Senate. A multitude of deeply interesting facts were presented by the speaker, and such as were

calculated to excite serious consideration in the minds of American statesmen. Said Mr. Chandler in his introduction: "It is a fact, although a humiliating one, that our flag has been practically driven from the ocean so far as our foreign commerce is concerned. Our domestic and coastwise commerce was never in a more prosperous condition than it is to-day; but from the foreign traffic our flag has been driven. The question is, What shall be done to restore to our flag the commerce which it formerly almost monopolized?"

"Prior to 1860 we built the best and cheapest ships in the world. American clippers were the fastest and most economical ships that sailed the ocean. In consequence of that we built ships for the world. England, Germany, France, Turkey, China, the whole world, purchased more or less of our ships. . . . But, sir, that is all changed now. Twenty-seven years ago I spent a winter abroad, and at that time I saw more ships bearing the American than the flag of any other nation in the different ports which I visited. During the past summer, in a six months' journey or more, I do not remember having seen but one single American flag on European waters. . . . Virtually we are driven from the ocean. In the days of our prosperous commerce the immigrant traffic was all done by sailing ships. There was a single line of steamships—the Cunard line—then running; but those ships were small, and carried few if any immigrants. Our fast-sailing clippers brought the great bulk of the immigrants. But, sir, that is all changed. Now it is impossible for an American wooden ship to obtain a cargo of immigrants at any price. Then most of the valuable merchandise of the world came to this country in those fast-sailing ships; to-day not a pound of valuable merchandise is brought in sailing ships. . . . What is the cause of this great change? It is that there has been a revolution in commerce—a revolution as complete, since the year 1860, as though a century had intervened. To-day all immigrants, all valuable freights, all profitable cargoes, are shipped by steam propellers. Iron has taken the place of wood, and steam the place of wind. . . ."

CORNELIUS COLE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cole served on the Committees on Appropriations, Post-offices and Post-roads, and on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Among his addresses to the Senate in this Congress was a brief speech on the bill regulating the importation of Chinese into the United States. In this speech he favored their emigration so far as the immigrants were characterized by industry and enterprise. "We have relied upon them," he states, "to a great extent in California and the Territories of the West for their labor. They have assisted to build our railroads; they have been employed as servants in almost every capacity; they are to-day employed in our manufactories; and it is difficult to see how we could have got along anywhere near so fast as we have in those industries had it not been for this description of labor."

Mr. Cole was not favorable to the abolition of the franking privilege, regarding it as likely to result in little or no reduction of the expenses of the Government. "While I believe," said he, "the law relating to the franking privilege should be modified in some essential particulars, I do not concur in the general sentiment in favor of an absolute repeal of it at once. I do not regard its repeal as a matter of economy. I do not suppose the abolition of the franking privilege would reduce the price of mail contracts one cent, and therefore the abolition of the privilege probably would not result very much, if at all, in the way of reducing the expenses of the Government."

Pending the bill to encourage the establishment of a line of steamships under the American flag for the conveyance of the mails of the United States to foreign ports, Mr. Cole remarked:

Why, sir, there are at this day some eight or ten European lines of steamships crossing the Atlantic Ocean, and not a single American steamship in that trade. There are one hundred and twenty steamships so employed, owned by Governments undoubtedly inferior, as we claim, to the Government of the United States, and we have not a single steamship crossing the Atlantic. We wish to pursue a course somewhat similar to that which has been pursued by European Governments for the purpose of establishing a line of our own across the Atlantic. At present our postages are paid to foreign lines. This proposition is that our own citizens who are to establish this line shall receive this compensation.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Conkling was placed upon the same committees as in the Congress preceding. Among his most elaborate efforts in this Congress was his speech of February 22, 1870, on the recommendation of the Committee on Revision of the Laws for the indefinite postponement of the Resolutions of the New York Legislature rescinding the Resolution of a preceding Legislature ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. Only a brief extract or two from this able speech can be indulged. Mr. Conkling commenced with affirming that the fate of the Fifteenth Amendment was not now depending upon the action or reaction of New York :

The formalities of its existence cannot now be aided by adding to the column of approving States the greatest State of all. Its right to be no longer rests with any single Legislature. The required States appear without turning toward New York ; and if futurity has a challenge for the proceedings of to-day, that challenge will not stand or fall because of the part New York has taken in this Constitutional assize. . . .

The usual choice of a Legislature was matter of course ; but the amendment having passed from the forum of consideration, the right to choose a Legislature to act upon it, once exercised, was exhausted the same as if the ratification had been by a convention. The power, like a multitude of other powers, is spent by being once exerted. This is true of elective powers generally. The Constitution itself abounds in examples of rights and functions which cease with a single exercise. Among these examples of Senators by the Legislatures of States, the election of President of the United States by the House of Representatives or by electoral colleges, the pardoning power, the veto power. . . . The whole truth lies in the statement that the Constitution does give the power to ratify, and does not give the power to cancel a ratification. This absence of power is fatal to the attempt to undo a ratification, whether the attempt be made before three fourths of the States have ratified an amendment or afterward. At all times such an attempt is usurpation, not because it is unreasonable, not because it is inexpedient, not because it is illogical, but because it is unauthorized, because no warrant for it exists. . . .

The same provision which is said to endow the States with this continuing discretion would uphold a majority of the two Houses of Congress in withdrawing the Fifteenth Amendment from consideration altogether at any hour before it had been ratified by twenty-eight States. This is but part of the unseemliness of a doctrine never conceived in our history before, and born now in the miscarriage of ill-gotten and baffled opportunity. Pursuing it no further, I dismiss the new dogma as a sinister and mischievous impostor. Were it an abstraction it would be a harmless heresy ; but it has a purpose, and allowed to go unchallenged, it might yet become an agitating and disorganizing intruder.

HENRY W. CORBETT.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Corbett was placed on the Committees on Commerce and Indian Affairs, and continued to apply himself to his senatorial labors with characteristic fidelity. His addresses to the Senate were, for the most part, brief and business-like, rigidly confined to the subject in hand. In his remarks on the bill to repeal the Civil-Tenure Act he declared himself ready at once for the repeal: "I am prepared to-day to vote for the unconditional repeal of that law, believing, as I do, that every man who is appointed to office should be responsible to the President of the United States. I believe that there should be a head to this Government, and that if he appoints corrupt, bad men he should be held responsible for it; and the people hereafter will judge as to that, and they will place men at the head of this Government who will appoint desirable, honest, and capable men. It seems to me that we ought to look at this question in the same light that we would look at it in a business point of view. If you have an employé under you who is corrupt, there should not be a third party to come in and decide that he should not be removed from his position, but you should have the sole control of that, and say that you will appoint a man to that position who will faithfully discharge his duties. That is the only way in which you can systematically and successfully manage your own business. It seems to me that the same rule should be applied to the President of the United States; that he should have the power to appoint these officers, and should be held responsible for them."

Mr. Corbett favored the resolution granting a pension to Mrs. Lincoln, and, pending the resolution, remarked: "Certainly the death of Abraham Lincoln was caused by that spirit which was raised in rebellion, and which directed the assassin's dagger as it pierced the heart of our respected chief magistrate of the nation. I hope that every State in this Union which is here represented may cast a vote for this bill, that we may testify our gratitude to this great and noble man, that we may show to the nation and to other nations that we appreciate his great services, and that we may testify to his widow our appreciation of her husband."

AARON H. CRAGIN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Cragin in 1870 was re-elected to the Senate for the term of six years from the 4th of March, 1871. In the Forty-first Congress he served on the Committees on Territories and Naval Affairs, being chairman of the latter committee.

Mr. Cragin's principal speech in this Congress was his exhaustive exhibit of Mormonism on the occasion of considering the bill in aid of the execution of the laws in the Territory of Utah. This speech occupied twenty-five columns of the Congressional Globe, and was delivered on the evening of May 18, 1870. He thus gives the origin of Mormonism :

The Mormon Church had its origin in the vagaries and lying deceits of Joseph Smith. The "Book of Mormon" was published in 1830. Mormon, it is pretended, was the most noted prophet of the Nephites, a Hebrew colony in North America, which came here about 600 B. C., and was destroyed by the Samanites about 400 A. D. The "golden plates" containing the Book of Mormon, it is said, were buried in Ontario County, New York, about A. D. 420, and exhumed by Joseph Smith, Sen., Sept. 22, 1827. In reality, the greater part was written by one Rev. Solomon Spaulding between 1810 and 1812 as a romance, for the purpose of connecting the North American Indians with the lost tribes of Israel. Smith saw that here was his opportunity. He pretended that he had found these "plates," and that he had received revelations from God, John the Baptist, Peter, and other apostles. The fanaticism took root, and deluded men and women followed him.

Mr. Cragin states polygamy to have been no part of Mormonism as originally established, but was, previous to 1852, repudiated by all Mormon writers and speakers, and quotes Pratt, one of the shining lights of Mormonism, as asserting that "such a doctrine is not held or known or practiced as a principle by the Latter Day Saints." In 1852, however, it was announced by Brigham Young as a revelation. The power of this personage in his dominions is thus set forth by Mr. Cragin :

He has ruled governors, judges, secretaries, and marshals, with some honorable exceptions, by bribery, flattery, fear, or some other adroit chicanery, and Utah is to-day the same pandemonium it always has been. He has always had the Territorial Legislature under his complete control, the members being all oath-bound Mormons, and he dictates every law. He has established Probate Courts, where nearly all the business is done, and the judges are his most pliant tools. He tells jurors, grand and trial, what they are to do, and if they disobey him in the least particular they are lashed from the pulpit. . . .

GARRETT DAVIS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Davis, in the Forty-first Congress, notwithstanding his advanced age, must be classified among the most punctual, vigilant, and industrious men of the Senate. His chair was seldom vacant, and few indeed were the matters coming before that body that failed to receive his careful attention, while the frequency and independence with which he addressed the Senate were remarkable. A strong partisan, he, notwithstanding evinced a firm conviction of what he deemed to be right, and in his speeches he often joined a high degree of excitement with unquestionable ability.

As somewhat illustrative of his activity in the Senate, we add that during the second session of the Forty-first Congress, extending from December 6, 1870, to the middle of the following July, Mr. Davis, besides merely incidental remarks, addressed the Senate about two hundred and fifty times in speeches of from two or three minutes to such as occupy a dozen or more closely printed columns of the Congressional Globe.

One of the most able of his speeches during this Congress was that of May 20, on the bill to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. Some of his introductory remarks on this occasion were as follows:

I am disposed to concede some facts and some events that have been brought about by the war, and never, so far as I am concerned, is it my purpose to attempt to reverse them. The first is the emancipation of all slaves, and the utter and final abolition of slavery. I believe that that was irregularly effected, and was effected without a proper sanction of authority and power; but although an act of disorder, although the result of force, an effort to reform and reverse it would produce more mischief than a continuance of the state of things which it has inaugurated. I might make the same remark in relation to the subject of negro voting. I believe that that was a right conferred upon the black man without any proper sanction of authority, without any authority whatever that was valid, and that was entitled to act on the subject; but I recognize the fact, the transaction, that this right of suffrage has been given by the form of law and of constitution to the colored race, and therefore I am utterly indisposed myself ever to endeavor to wrest or regain the right from the colored man.

But . . . though I concede, and am willing to acquiesce in, the abolition of slavery, and even in the investment of the late slave with the right of suffrage, I will contest the principle of revolution that strikes down constitutional law, that makes it subservient to military power in times of domestic violence, even of civil war. . . . I utterly deny that Congress, acting on propositions to amend the Constitution, can revolutionize the Government, can overthrow the constitutions and governments of the States.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Drake served on the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Committee on the Pacific Railroad, and as Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. He remained the same unswerving advocate of the reconstruction policy of the Republican party that he had ever been. The depth of his conviction and the steadfastness of his purpose are apparent in numerous speeches made by him on questions relating to reconstruction. In a speech delivered on the 18th of April, 1870, he made the first exposition, accompanied with authentic proofs, of the Southern Ku-Klux, which was made in the Senate, closing with these words :

Oh, Senators, if the cry of the blood of one man was so great that it ascended to the throne of God himself, how can we shut our ears to the blood-cry of the thousands of slain who have fallen on southern soil since the day that Lee surrendered at Appomattox ? Do we owe nothing as Senators to our own consciences, to our people, to humanity ? Do we owe nothing of duty to the God whose providence is over and around us every day of our lives, that we should turn a deaf ear to the wailing cry that comes up from the desolated homes whose husbands and fathers, by thousands and thousands, have been shot down by the wayside assassin, or murdered at midnight by these American Thugs ?

I can say no more, Mr. President. God will judge between Senators and their own consciences in this matter. I do not pretend to judge them. But, for myself, I can hardly name a cause in which I would sooner lay down the poor remnant of the life that God has given me than in that of suppressing this midnight tramp of death in the stricken region to which it is in your power to give peace by the adoption of the plan I have now defended before you.

Probably the ablest speech delivered by Mr. Drake in the Senate was that of December 13, 1869, denying the right of the Supreme Court of the United States, or any other Court, to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. It treated that subject in a way it had not before been treated, and the speech attracted largely the attention of the legal mind of the country.

Mr. Drake having been appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Claims, on the 15th of December, 1870, sent to the Vice-President the announcement of his resignation as a Senator of the United States, to take effect on the 19th instant. On the 16th he delivered his final speech in the Senate in reply to his colleague, who had

spoken on the preceding day. The following are the closing paragraphs :

Mr. President, here I close at once my reply to my colleague, my participation in political affairs, and my service in this body. After this day my voice will be heard no more in this Chamber. Henceforth my lot is cast in another sphere, where the calm of justice in a high and honorable tribunal will welcomely succeed the storms of the political sea, and the consciousness of dispensing the right, as God enables me to see the right, will dignify and brighten the labors of a declining life. For nearly four years I have represented here a noble State. It was not unfit my last address to the Senate should be on behalf of the true Republicans of that State in the gloomy hour of their causeless and wicked betrayal by those they had trusted and honored—as time has proved, too confidently trusted, too generously honored. . . . I came here almost equally a stranger to the Senate and to the laws and usages of deliberative bodies. It is not strange, then, that I should have said and done much that in the light of experience I would had been otherwise. But one of the first things I learned here, as it is one of the best I have ever learned, was the leniency and magnanimity of Senators toward the mistakes, shortcomings, and indiscretions of their inexperienced associates. I soon learned, too, that, notwithstanding great and often excited differences of opinion and sentiment, all were ready to recognize and respect sincerity of conviction and honesty of purpose, and I took courage and went forward. My record here is made up, and is not now open to amendment. With all its imperfections I leave it to the Senate and my constituents. So far as it evinces a heart bound by every tie to my country, to humanity, and to freedom, there is not a line which, dying, I would wish to blot. But so far as it presents the workings of a mind obeying the impulses of that heart, I can only mourn that I had not more and better of intellectual power to give to so glorious a cause.

I go hence, as many have gone before, and as many will go hereafter, to swell the long roll of the forgotten. But to him who has striven faithfully before God and man to do his duty in his station futurity has no remorse, oblivion no terror. His record here may be defaced with manifold errors, but through them all will shine forth the honest purpose of an upright heart; and though by man such a record may be forgotten, there is One by whom it will be held in remembrance even when senates, republics, and nations shall have ceased to be. Humbly I say it, but with sincerity, I have tried here, as I had elsewhere, to make a record as a public man which could, at least, bear the scrutiny of the great and patriotic party to which I belong, and which I might not dread to meet where a higher than human judgment decides infallibly and without appeal. It is for you, Senators, to say how near I have come to the former; with the Higher Forum is the solution of the latter and greater problem. But my hope is that at either bar the verdict, if not all that ambition might crave, may at least be in some such words as these: In every struggle of his country with the spirit of rebellion and treason, in every uprising of human rights against the despotism of slavery and caste, in every conflict of his party with open foes and treacherous friends, he was "faithful found among the faithless."

Mr. Edmunds, in the Forty-first Congress, served on the Committee on the Judiciary and Appropriations, also on the Select Committee on Revision of the Rules, and was Chairman of the Committee on Pensions. He frequently addressed the Senate, especially on subjects reported from the committees of which he was a member. We present an extract from his speech of December 16, 1869, on the Bill for Promoting the Reconstruction of Georgia. Having alluded to the exclusion of the colored members from the Legislature of that State, "What happened," said the Senator, "after that? Why, sir, the reign of anarchy, of cruelty, and of tyranny began. Murder, assault, assassination, ostracism—every thing that can disgrace a community, that can turn it into a state of barbarism, and make it a living hell for civilized people, was done.

"Gentlemen say—it was said before our Committee by a distinguished citizen of that State who thought he believed it—'I have no doubt that peace and order had reigned in Georgia all the time; that life was as safe, property as secure, justice as truly administered, in that State, in proportion to its numbers and population, as in any State in the Union.' But when he was asked whether there had been, in the last two years, any execution for murder, he could not tell us that there had been. When he was asked if there had been any convictions for murder in that State he could not tell us that there had been, unless he may have said that there had been one very recently. And yet the recorded evidence shows, if there is any faith to be put in human testimony from official sources that have no interest to misrepresent, that the reign of anarchy and of cruelty and of blood in many sections of that State has been supreme, and that there is no such thing as justice administered there; that there is no such thing as security for life or property, or anything that a man holds dear and has a right to have, except at the mere sufferance and permission of bands of regulators; and when anybody receives an injury, when anybody is murdered, if the sheriff of the county attempts to arrest the murderer he is sent about his business, first being soundly whipped

for interfering with the free institutions of the Democratic State of Georgia, and driven out!"

Mr. McCreery having asked leave to introduce a joint resolution looking to the restoration of the Arlington estate to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, Mr. Edmunds objected, remarking as follows:

I hope that joint resolution will not be introduced into this body, and that leave will not be granted. The idea that the Senate of the United States is to enter into an investigation as to whether there is not some contrivance by which the bones of our soldiers can be dug up on the other side of that Virginia stream and carried off somewhere else, and that property given back to its late rebel owners, is to my mind perfectly monstrous, and I hope the Senate will not consent to receive or entertain such a proposition. I have the highest respect for my friend from Kentucky, as he knows. He looks at it, I suppose, from a different point of view; but I trust the Senate will not consent to enter into any such investigation, or to entertain any such proposition.

* * * * *

I will say, before I ask for the yeas and nays, upon his motion for leave to bring in his joint resolution, that this man whom he has eulogized, and of whom I am reminded by an old maxim to say nothing but good, and of whom I should have said nothing at all but for the Senator's remarks—I think it safe to say has committed the crime of treason against more light, against better opportunities of knowing that he was committing it, than probably any man in the whole range of the Southern States. Instead of being the child of Virginia, and wedded to the institutions of his State, and sharing her destinies with a passionate enthusiasm, he was the child of the people; he was the ward of the nation. It had educated him, it had fed him, it had clothed him; it had instructed his military talents, which he turned against it at last. He lived at the capital, and when the capital called upon him to follow and defend the flag that he had been born under, and educated under, and protected under, and honored under, he turned his back to it deliberately, and planted his cannon in sight of the capital that he had sworn to protect and defend.

But I do not desire to discuss this question. General Lee is dead. I have never wished him ill. I do not wish his memory ill. The only regret, I think, that right-minded men who believe in a country will have, without any unkindness to him, is that he had not died earlier than he did, either in his youth or in his patriotic manhood, or that he had not died later than that, and earlier than he did, by the hand of the law. That would have atoned in some measure for his crimes.

Although opposed to the acquisition of San Domingo, Mr. Edmunds favored the resolution authorizing the President to send a Commission to make investigations in regard to that island, as a matter of "interest to the American people, whatever their opinions may be respecting the acquisition of that territory."

REUBEN E. FENTON.

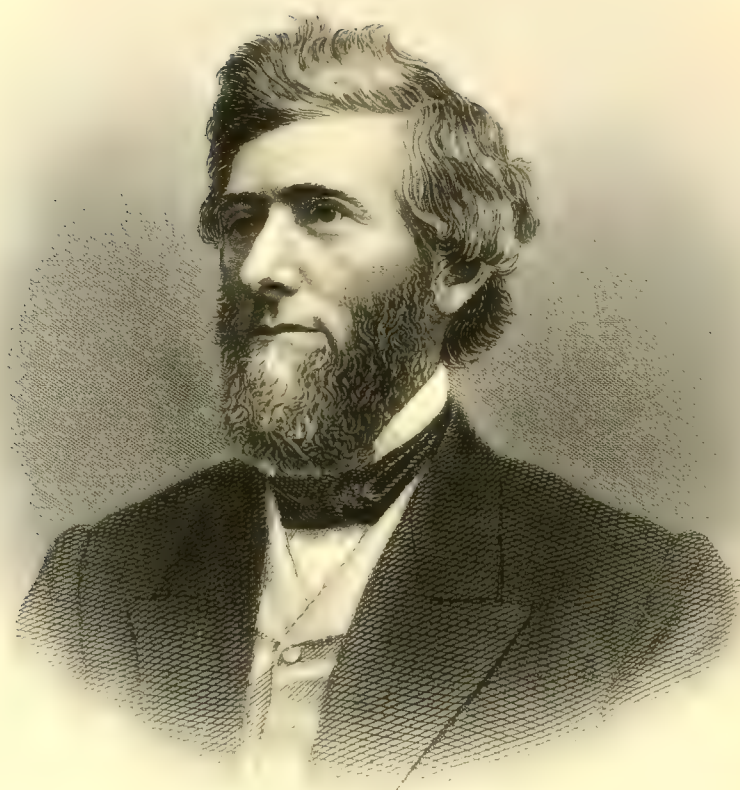
REUBEN E. FENTON was born in Carroll, Chautauqua County, New York, July 4, 1819. His father was a native of New Hampshire, but the family was of Connecticut origin and furnished its share of soldiers, who did good service during the Revolutionary War.

His opportunities for acquiring an education were limited to the common schools, and a few terms in neighboring academies. He read law one year, not with the view of going into the profession, but for the purpose of obtaining knowledge which would be useful to him in whatever business he might engage.

At the age of twenty he entered into mercantile business with limited means at his command, but with an energy and industry which soon made him successful. He soon engaged in the lumber trade as auxiliary to his mercantile pursuits. He was very prosperous, and in a few years lumbering became his principal business. So energetically and skillfully did he ply this pursuit that he soon enjoyed the reputation of being the most successful lumberman on the Alleghany and Ohio rivers.

The first office held by Mr. Fenton was the Supervisorship of his native town, to which he was elected in 1843. He held the office eight years, during three of which he was Chairman of the Board, although the majority were Whigs, while he was a Democrat. In 1849 he was a candidate for the Assembly, and came within twenty-one votes of being elected, although the successful candidate was one of the most popular men in the district, which was strongly Whig.

In 1852 he was a candidate for Representative in Congress, and was elected by fifty-two majority, although his opponents had counted on carrying the district by at least three thousand majority. He took his seat in a house in which the Democrats out-



P. E. Foulare

numbered their opponents by about two to one. Just then occurred one of the most memorable events in the legislative history of this country, the proposal by Mr. Douglas of a bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Fenton, with Nathaniel P. Banks and others of the younger Democrats, strenuously opposed this proposition, but it passed the House by a vote of 113 to 100, and became a law. A breach was thus made in the Democratic ranks which was never healed. Mr. Fenton, with such conspicuous Democrats as Preston King and George Opdyke, was after that identified with the Republicans.

In 1854 Mr. Fenton did not consent to be a candidate for re-election until the Saturday before the election, and the Know Nothings carried his district by a considerable majority against him. In 1856 he was a candidate on the Fremont ticket and was elected, and was re-elected by large and generally increasing majorities until 1864, when he was nominated for Governor.

Mr. Fenton's career of ten years in Congress was marked by much that was useful to his constituents and the country. With humane and patriotic care he watched the interests of the soldiers of 1812, and shortly after entering Congress he introduced a bill providing for the payment of certain just claims due them. He continued to urge this measure upon the attention of Congress, and finally, on the 30th of May, 1860, had the satisfaction to witness its passage in the House. He held a prominent place on several leading Committees, and discharged the duties which thus devolved upon him in a most successful manner. He delivered able and effective speeches against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act, and in opposition to the policy of the Democratic party with regard to Kansas, and in favor of a cheap postal system, the bill to extend invalid pensions, for the improvement of rivers and harbors, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and other important subjects.

In Congress Mr. Fenton gave his constant and efficient support to the government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. He voted steadily for taxes, loans, levies, drafts, and for the policy of emancipation.

As early as the fall of 1862 Mr. Fenton's name was favorably mentioned in connection with the office of Governor of New York, but upon the presentation of the name of General Wadsworth he promptly withdrew from the canvass, and gave his warmest support to the patriot soldier. Two years later Mr. Fenton received the nomination, and was elected Governor by a majority considerably larger than that of Mr. Lincoln in New York.

Entering upon his administration as Governor at a most trying period in the progress of the war, Mr. Fenton found exercise for all his industry and ability as an executive officer. He was prompt to reward merit, and skillful to harmonize differences which threatened injury to military organizations in the field.

His judicious course in the administration of public affairs met with much approval and created strong public confidence. At the close of the first year of his service as Governor, Moses H. Grimmell, Peter Cooper, and many other prominent citizens of New York, addressed him a letter of thanks, promising him their hearty cooperation and support in his efforts to meliorate the condition of the metropolis. A few months later, when he was in New York, city, he was waited upon in person by thousands of leading citizens, who gave him sincere expressions of their warm approbation. The *New York Tribune* referred to this remarkable demonstration as a proper recognition of official worth and integrity, saying, "This hearty welcome sprang from a generous and enduring remembrance of the protection afforded to our municipal rights and franchises in his judicious exercise of the veto power." His vetoes of various bills which would have deprived the city of valuable franchises without compensating advantages proved so acceptable to the Board of Supervisors of New York County that they passed a resolution tendering thanks to the Governor, and congratulating the people of the State "in having an Executive who possesses the vigilance and fearlessness necessary to correct the errors of hasty and imperfect legislation."

Mr. Fenton's course as Governor during his first term had been such as to secure for him the unqualified approval of his party.

He had stimulated volunteering, and had relieved New York from a large portion of the dreaded burden of the draft. He had done much to originate a financial system which rendered the credit of the State secure, and furnished the means to supply the demands of war without being felt as oppressive. He had sought to foster all the material interests of the Commonwealth, and had reluctantly interposed to the defeat of needed enterprises when their aid would render the burden of taxation onerous, and awaited a more favorable opportunity to join in giving them necessary aid. He was vigilant in his attention to the commercial wants of the State, and promoted its prosperity by every means within his reach as its chief Executive.

So successful and popular had been the administration of Governor Fenton that the Republican State Convention of 1866 renominated him by acclamation, and he was elected by a majority of five thousand larger than was given him for his first term.

In his messages to the Legislature Governor Fenton advised a reduction of the number of items in the tax lists, and a re-adjustment of the assessment laws, in order that every source of wealth might bear its just proportion of burden. He took strong ground in defense of the inviolate maintenance of the national faith. He eloquently maintained the rights of the freedmen, in consideration of their manhood and loyalty, to protection through law, and to the elective franchise.

The claims of Governor Fenton to receive the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency were strongly urged upon the Chicago Convention of 1868. The Republican State Convention held at Syracuse February 5, 1868, unanimously adopted a resolution that "Reuben E. Fenton is the first choice of the Republican party in this State for the office of Vice-President."

Having been elected to the Senate of the United States, Mr. Fenton took his seat in that body on the 4th of March, 1869, for the term ending in 1875. During the Forty-first Congress he served on the Committee on Finance and the Committee on the Pacific Railroad.

ORRIS S. FERRY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

One of the characteristic speeches of Mr. Ferry in the Forty-first Congress was that of January 14, 1870, on the subject of the admission of Virginia to representation in the Congress of the United States, in which he said :

I want to see not only Virginia, but the remaining States which are still unreconstructed, restored to their practical relations to this Union; and I want to see it done in accordance with the public faith which I think Congress pledged, and which I know I pledged; and I want to see it so that the people of those States can resume the consideration and management of their own affairs, and so that life, and property, and person can be secured there, as they only can be ultimately secured under our system of government, by means of the local autonomy of the people of those States. You cannot secure life, liberty, and property permanently under our Federal system of government—if you are to maintain that system—except by the local government of the people of the various States that compose the Republic. If you take any other view, if you adopt any other mode, it must be by direct intervention of Federal authority in the various States for the purpose of managing their local affairs; and when you have come to that, there is an end of our free representative Federal system upon this continent. . . .

Now, sir, bring Virginia back as you have pledged you would bring her back when she had performed the conditions imposed upon her; bring her back because she has, in my judgment, legally and faithfully performed those conditions—no State so loyally, and so faithfully. In the action of her people, in the action of her Legislature, in the action of her State officers elect, loyally and faithfully has the old Mother of States come up to the work of restoration.

In his speech of May 17, 1870, pending the bill for the Enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, Mr. Ferry insisted that this Amendment is a sham and a delusion so long as political disabilities were retained. He added :

The black man is not enfranchised in the South. It is nothing to say to me that I may vote if among the great mass of my fellow-citizens you select one half of them and say I shall not vote for any of them; and that is precisely what the disability amendment and the test-oath act do to-day.

Who are these eight hundred thousand men that are ineligible for office? Sir, they are the class out of whom we have to win adherents to the Republican party, or the Republican party will go down in every Southern State. I know I am speaking for the welfare of my party, and through that for the welfare of my country. How can it be otherwise? Will not the wealth, the culture, the property, the intelligence, exert its own natural force in society against all resistance in the end? Sir, there are hundreds and thousands of those negroes, emancipated and enfranchised now, who yet retain the old attachment to the old home and the old master, and those attachments will stay with them till they die.

(Concluded from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the first session of the Forty-first Congress, extending from March 4 to April 22, 1870, Mr. Fessenden was, as usual, in his place in the Senate, and as diligent and able as formerly in his senatorial duties. But he was performing his last work in the councils of the nation. At the end of the session he returned to his home at Portland, passed the summer months, as usual, mostly with his family, spending much time in his garden and library, mingling but little with society and avoiding all excitement. Such were his habits generally during the recess of the sessions, his naturally feeble constitution requiring recuperation, physical and mental, after such close application as he was accustomed to bestow upon his public duties. At the very commencement of autumn, however, he was attacked by sickness, and on the morning of September 8, 1870, surrounded by his family and friends, he expired.

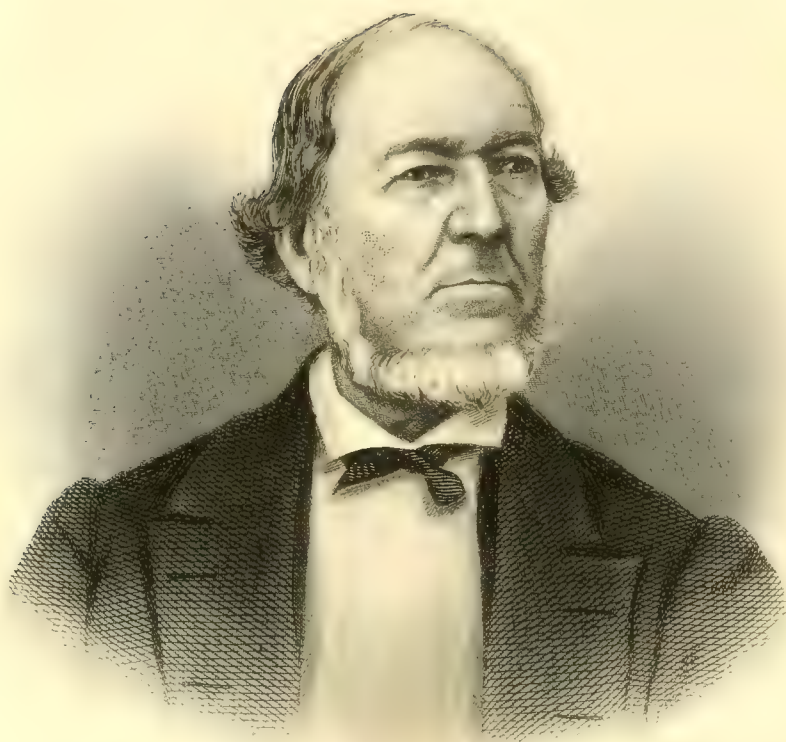
The death of Mr. Fessenden was felt to be a national calamity, and throughout the country it was painfully realized that one of its ablest and best statesmen and truest patriots was no more. The memorial addresses on his life and character, delivered at the reassembling of Congress, in the Senate and House of Representatives, were remarkable for the deep feeling evinced, as well as for the high character and eminent abilities which, without distinction of party, were accorded to the deceased Senator. "The lineaments of Mr. Fessenden's character," said his colleague, Mr. Morrill, "were marked and clear. He was endowed with an acute understanding, lively sensibility, and intense personality and self-reliance. Penetration and insight eminently characterized his genius. . . . There was next to nothing in his life, public or private, which was factitious and artificial."

Said Mr. Sumner: "Of all the present Senate, one only beside myself witnessed his entry into this Chamber. I cannot forget it. He came in the midst of that terrible debate on the Kansas and Nebraska Bill by which the country was convulsed to its center, and his arrival had the effect of a re-enforcement on the field of battle. . . . He did not wait, but at once entered into the debate with all those resources which afterward became so famous. The

scene that ensued exhibited his readiness and courage. While saying that the people of the North were fatigued with the threat of disunion—that they considered it as ‘mere noise and nothing else,’ he was interrupted by Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, always ready to speak for slavery, exclaiming, ‘If such sentiments as yours prevail I want a dissolution right away’—a characteristic intrusion doubly out of order—to which the new-comer rejoined, ‘Do not delay it on my account; do not delay it on account of anybody at the North.’ The effect was electric; but this incident was not alone. Douglas, Cass, and Butler interrupted only to be worsted by one who had just ridden into the lists. . . . The Senator from Maine, erect, firm, immovable as a jutting promontory against which the waves of ocean tossed and broke in dissolving spray—there he stood. Not a Senator loving freedom who did not feel on that day that a champion had come.”


“His clear intellect,” said Mr. Trumbull, “quick perception, and incisive manner of speaking gave him great power in a legislative body; and when added to these are purity of character, spotless integrity, a high sense of honor, together with love of country and liberty, you have the useful and accomplished statesman, and such was Mr. Fessenden. As a debater, engaged in the current business of legislation, the Senate has not had his equal in my time. No man could detect a sophistry, or perceive a scheme or a job quicker than he, and none possessed the power to expose it more effectually.”

Said Mr. Anthony: “He will long be held in grateful and affectionate remembrance for his masculine and vigorous intellect, for his pure and honest statesmanship, for his careful and exact acquirement, for the independence which nothing could shake, for the integrity which nothing could corrupt, and, underlying all, for that sound common sense, that intellectual as well as moral rectitude, upon which, as upon a basis of enduring granite, rose the beautiful superstructure of his character.”



J. W. L. Lanyon

J. W. FLANAGAN.

 W. FLANAGAN was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, September 7, 1805. He enjoyed in early youth the privileges of a common education, and when but eleven years of age removed to Kentucky, settling first in Madison County, and afterward in the County of Breckenridge.

Mr. Flanagan engaged in early life in the mercantile business, in which he continued till 1843, when he removed to Texas, making his permanent residence in the County of Rusk. Here he engaged in planting, at the same time giving attention to law studies, which indeed he had begun to do previously to his removal from Kentucky. He was admitted to the bar in 1845, and, in connection with his business as a planter, has continued the practice of the profession of law ever since. In this he has been quite fortunate, having in a brief time obtained an extensive practice, in the course of which he has been engaged, either as associate or opponent, with many of the first lawyers of the State.

From a boy, Mr. Flanagan was politically in sympathy with the "Old Line Whigs," naming, as he has said, "a son for Clay, one for Webster, and one for the great Houston." While in Kentucky he was for several years a justice of the peace, and one of the county judges of the County of Breckenridge; and, after removing to Texas, he was in 1851 elected to the State Legislature, serving two sessions in the Lower House, and afterward served during two sessions in the Senate. In 1856 he was one of the State Electors on the Fillmore presidential ticket, and was a member of the State Constitutional Conventions of 1866 and 1868. By the latter Convention he was sent as a Delegate to the Congress of the United States to aid in the reconstruction of the State of Texas; and was afterward, in 1869, elected Lieutenant Governor, and organized the State Senate, over which he presided until his

election, in February, 1870, as a Republican, to the United States Senate, taking his seat in that body on the 31st of March following.

Mr. Flanagan, though a large slave-holder, always adhered unflinchingly to the Union, and was one of the ten out of four hundred and eighty-five who cast his vote against secession; and he records with pleasure that a son and a son-in-law were also of the ten.

Mr. Flanagan is one of the modest and prudent men of the Senate; while, at the same time, in his remarks before that body he gives evidence of a large share of independence of thought, as well as of much good sense. One of the most elaborate of his speeches in the Forty-first Congress was that on the abolition of the franking privilege, delivered on the 9th of June, a few weeks after entering the Senate. In this speech he took very decided ground against this bill. He considered the franking privilege a privilege not only to those who possessed it, but also to their constituents, and a public advantage. He admitted its abuse, but contended that the benefits arising from it much overbalanced the evils; and this he endeavored to illustrate by alluding to the information scattered broadcast over the country by the use of the frank, which he was inclined to elevate to the rank of an educator of the people. He said:

If I preferred darkness rather than light, I would vote to abolish the franking privilege. But I am unqualifiedly for education. I want education broadcast throughout the Union. I want to educate the boys and the little girls. I want to be educated myself. * * * I desire to be able at all times to be the instrument to send knowledge and information to the great State of Texas, which I have the honor, in part, to represent. * * * Let information be spread abroad in every sense of the word. Our people are a reading people; and I am all anxiety that they should be enabled to have all the documents that emanate from the Congress of the United States, or anything that may come into the possession of the representatives of the people at large. * * * As a matter of course, bad documents will occasionally get among the people under this privilege; but I am clearly of the opinion that if proper documents had been spread broadcast throughout the South at the proper period previous to the war, the people thereby obtaining proper light on their relations to the Government, the Rebellion would not have gone on as it did.

Such were some of the sentiments urged by the Senator, and such may be deemed a specimen of his ordinary style.

JOSEPH S. FOWLER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the proceedings of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Fowler bore a prominent part. He favored the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Law, making a protracted speech in favor of such action, concluding by saying: "If this law is a good one it should neither be suspended nor repealed. If, on the contrary, it is, as I believe, evil, and only evil continually, the sooner it is wiped from the statute book the better for every interest in the Government."

Mr. Fowler favored the restoration of Virginia, and without the condition requiring her ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. "Let Virginia come back to her place. . . . Will not the ancient glories of that old Commonwealth redeem her from the stain of rebellion? If not, I confess I have no hopes in the flimsy and miserable pretense of a legislative condition appended to her Constitution. . . . You must leave something for the virtue and intelligence and freedom of the people to accomplish."

Also in urging the restoration of Mississippi Mr. Fowler pleaded for its admission without conditions: "It can do no good. It can punish no crimes. It can avenge no slaughtered patriots. It can never again recall to life the honored brave who sleep their long sleep for their country's glory. Each State is a part of the heritage of every freeman. Its glory is ours; its shame is also ours."

The same general strain of argument was pursued by Mr. Fowler in his speech favoring the re-instatement of Georgia—a speech occupying twenty-six columns of the *Congressional Globe*. And accordant with the sentiments of these speeches were those of his speech on enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment: "'We must utterly overthrow the Rebellion and punish the rebels.' How? let me ask. By the sword and the scaffold? Nay, verily; by mercy and goodwill. We will rebuild the desolate habitations, level down the fortifications, obliterate every vestige of war, surround all with the ægis of equal rights and equal advantages, and make the children of the Unionist and the Rebel feel alike the blessings of the nation."

Mr. Fowler's services in the Senate of the United States terminated with the close of the Forty-first Congress.

ABIJAH GILBERT.



ABIJAH GILBERT is a native of Gilbertsville, Otsego County, New York. He was the eldest of a family of eighteen children born to a father who was a man of remarkable energy, great force of character, and rare integrity. He was a strict Presbyterian, and reared his family in accordance with his high notions of Christian precept and practice. The duty of implicit obedience was early learned by every member of his numerous household. So carefully did they heed the maxims of a wise father that all of them who lived to maturity became wealthy and influential citizens.

Mr. Gilbert entered Hamilton College as a student; but application to study developed symptoms of consumption, and he was compelled to abandon his plans for literary and professional pursuits. He then went into a store as clerk, and, finding the employment conducive to his health, he entered with much energy and ability into mercantile pursuits. He greatly extended his operations, with head-quarters in New York city, and branch establishments in various parts of the country. He was very prosperous in his commercial undertakings, and while yet in middle life had secured an ample fortune.

At this point, such is the spirit of the age, most men would have increased their efforts, and labored with greater zeal to swell their already more than sufficient fortunes; but Mr. Gilbert had other and higher aims. He wisely determined to enjoy his wealth, by making it of service to himself and his fellow-men. He retired from active business pursuits, expecting to find some better way of employing his time and money than simply in amassing more.

Opportunities were not long wanting. The climate of New York being unfavorable to the health of his family, Mr. Gilbert determined to settle in Florida. He purchased a handsome place near



W. J. L. L. L.

the ancient city of St. Augustine, the beauties of which he developed by a judicious outlay of money and the exercise of a cultivated taste. But it was not destined that he should spend his time in devotion to rural pleasures and pursuits. Citizenship in Florida, in its transition state, brought with it new duties and responsibilities.

In early life Mr. Gilbert had been a Whig, but after the demise of the old party which had so long claimed his fealty he became an ardent Republican. The cares of business, however, had prevented him from actively participating in politics, and in the North there were so many competent as well as willing to do political work and hold the offices that Mr. Gilbert had gladly stood aloof. In Florida, however, affairs were different. A large portion of the population had just been released from a slavery which had left them poor both in money and in intellectual resources. With unexampled magnanimity the Government had come out of the war leaving its enemies rich, and its friends in the South abjectly poor.

A political campaign came on in Florida involving the whole question of Reconstruction and the future well-being of the State; but the party friendly to the Government had no money to prosecute a canvass, and take the first steps necessary to a successful issue. At this juncture Mr. Gilbert, without even visiting the Capital or making the acquaintance of politicians, nearly all the candidates being unknown to him, quietly furnished the money necessary to conduct the canvass. Speakers went to all parts of the State at his expense, the newly enfranchised people were enlightened as to their rights and duties, and the State by a large majority was carried for the Republicans.

Mr. Gilbert refused to share any of the honors or emoluments resulting from the victory. The Republican Legislature would gladly have elected him to a seat in the United States Senate on the readmission of the State, but he declined the honor. The service of Senator Welch, who drew the short term, expiring March 4, 1869, Mr. Gilbert was prevailed upon to allow his name to be used for the succession, and he was elected by more than a full party vote for the Senatorial term ending March 3, 1875.

JAMES W. GRIMES.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

At the opening of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Grimes was still the Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs. On the 6th of March he introduced a bill for the reorganization of the Navy of the United States, which was referred to his committee, from which it was reported on the 11th of March, and passed the Senate on the 16th. In explanation, he said that "when this bill shall pass there will not be quite as many officers in the navy as there were at the beginning of the war, in 1861."

He opposed the bill fixing the number of judge advocates in the army at ten, maintaining that if one such officer was sufficient before the war, now that the army is only fifty per cent. larger the number of judge advocates proposed was inordinate. He opposed the Currency Bill as a "bill of spoliation," adding :

When this country was in trouble, and making its most strenuous efforts to preserve its existence, it went to the banks of the country and sought to induce them, and did induce them, by persuasion or by coercion, to let it have all their money, with the stipulation on its part that it would give to those banks certain bonds to be issued by the government, upon which they should be permitted to issue a certain amount of circulation; and we gave to those banks in consideration therefor a charter and a franchise authorizing them to have an existence as banks and to enjoy the privileges of that circulation. Now it is proposed that that franchise shall be impaired; that the contract you have entered into with those banks shall be done away with.

Mr. Grimes opposed the bill reported from the Judiciary Committee for the amendment of the Tenure-of-Office Law, and in a brief speech on the subject, March 24, 1869, he said :

Entertaining the opinion which I do, and which I have always entertained, that this government can properly be administered only by the enforcement of a speedy and strict accountability of all the officers to the Executive Chief of the government, whose duty it is to see that the laws are administered, I am satisfied that the passage of this measure will simply have a tendency to perpetuate and continue the conflicts between the executive and the legislative departments of the Government which have existed during the last four years; and not being desirous to have any hand in perpetuating such troubles and conflicts to the injury of the public service, I cannot consent to this amendment.

After the close of the first session of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Grimes went to Europe for the benefit of his health, and on the 11th of August, 1869, he sent his resignation from Paris.



M. C. Hammett,

MORGAN C. HAMILTON.



MORGAN C. HAMILTON was born in the territory now within the limits of Alabama, near Huntsville, February 25, 1809. He received only the simplest rudiments of a country-school education at intervals from labor, and was bred to mercantile pursuits. He removed to the Republic of Texas in 1837, where he was a clerk in the War Department from 1839 until April, 1845, acting as Secretary of War the greater portion of the last three years. During the rebellion he remained in Texas, constant in his devotion to the Union.

In 1867 he was appointed Comptroller of the Treasury of the State by the Commander of the Fifth Military District. He was elected a Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1868, and on the reconstruction of Texas he was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, taking his seat in that body March 31, 1870, and was assigned to the Committees on Indian Affairs, Revolutionary Claims, and the Select Committee on the Removal of Political Disabilities.

Soon after his admission to the Senate Mr. Hamilton delivered a speech on the reconstruction of Georgia, in which he urged the necessity that the General Government should give protection to the only friends and supporters which it has in nearly one half of its peopled territory. Mr. Hamilton said:

Not less than ten thousand hearts have ceased to beat since the surrender of Lee's army within the limits of the late Confederacy simply because they were true to the Government, and how many of the murderers have been punished? . . . The very small number of arrests made, and the still smaller number of convictions had, would be as incredible as the very large number of homicides committed.

WILLIAM T. HAMILTON.



WILLIAM T. HAMILTON was born in Washington County, Maryland, September 8, 1820. He received an academic education, and attended Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. He subsequently studied law, and located at Hagerstown, Maryland, for the practice of his profession. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1846, and was a Representative in Congress from 1849 to 1855. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat, and took his seat March 4, 1869, for the term ending in 1875. He was assigned to the Committees on Patents and the Patent-Office, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Mines and Mining.

One of his most extended and elaborate speeches in the Senate was made May 18 and 19, pending the consideration of the bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment. He considered it, as he expressed in the outset, among the most important measures that had ever arrested the attention of the American Senate. The merits of the amendment he declined to discuss, being convinced that "time would disclose the bad consequences of its evil origin and of its enforced adoption;" but added that for the purpose he had in view he should assume the amendment as a part of the Constitution, and binding upon the States and the people. This speech occupied twenty-five columns of the Congressional Globe, and the following were among its closing sentences :

Though I disagree with you about this Fifteenth Amendment ; its objects, its principles, its ends I reject ; I oppose it in its powers ; I denounce the manner of its adoption ; yet if it is the law of the land, and it confers upon you the power to enforce it, enforce it, but enforce it in good faith and fairly ; enforce it in the spirit of our institutions, enforce it by legislation that comports with its character as a part of the Constitution.



H. K. Garrison

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.



HANNIBAL HAMLIN was born in Paris, Maine, August 27, 1809. He was the youngest of seven children, and his father designed to give him a liberal education; but when nearly fitted for college, the health of an older brother failing, Hannibal was recalled from school to aid in the labors of the farm. He continued upon the farm till eighteen years old, when, by the approval and direction of his father, he commenced the study of law with an elder brother residing in the eastern part of the State. His father, however, dying soon after Mr. Hamlin's departure from home, he returned, and during the succeeding two years continued to labor upon the farm.

About the time of his coming of age Mr. Hamlin became associated with Mr. Horatio King in the proprietorship of the *Jeffersonian*, a paper printed in his native town. This enterprise, however, he soon relinquished, and under the advice of his mother resumed the study of law. At the end of three years' study he was admitted to the bar, and entered at once on the practice of his profession, gaining a case on the very day of his admission. In April of the same year he removed to Hampden, near Bangor, where he has since resided. Here he at once entered upon a large practice, and in addition to his forensic efforts made frequent addresses at lyceums, as well as at political and other assemblies.

In the five years from 1836 to 1840 inclusive Mr. Hamlin was annually elected a Representative in the State Legislature, and became at once a prominent member of the House; was prominent in all the principal debates, was one of the recognized leaders of his party, and for three out of these five years he was Speaker of the House. In 1840 he was the Democratic candidate for Representative in Congress, and was defeated by less than two hundred votes. Three years afterward, however, he was pitted against the

same opponent and for the same office, and was elected by a majority of a thousand. Assuming his seat in the Twenty-eighth Congress, he at once took the position of an active and able member of the House. The measure for annexing Texas by joint resolution failed to meet his approval, and he made an eloquent speech against it, wherein he expressed his regret that this "great and important question had been dragged down, down, down from its own proper sphere to a wretched, contemptible one for extending and perpetuating slavery."

Mr. Hamlin was elected to the succeeding Congress, in which he served in the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was Chairman of the Committee on Elections. In this Congress, both by speech and vote, he assumed a decided stand against the encroachments of slavery, announcing most explicitly his opposition to its extension, and offered the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment to the famous "Three Million Bill."

In 1848 Mr. Hamlin was elected to the Senate of the United States to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Governor Fairfield. Having served the four years of this unexpired term, he was re-elected for the full term. He was elected as a Democrat, although bitterly opposed by a portion of the party for his previous anti-slavery attitude in Congress. His opposition to slavery and its extension continued firm and unyielding, utterly regardless of party ties or inducements leading in any other direction. "I owe it," said he in a speech on the Clayton Compromise, "I owe it to the constituents whom I represent, to our posterity, to all the toiling millions who are seeking an asylum in our land, to embrace this opportunity of opposing with unshaken firmness any attempt to introduce or permit this institution to flow into territory now free."

In June, 1856, in connection with a brief speech in the Senate on the Democratic Platform, as announced at the Cincinnati Convention, Mr. Hamlin publicly and formally declared off from that party, and expressed his determination to battle vigorously for the defeat of its presidential candidate. In the following January,

having by a large majority been elected Governor of Maine as a Republican candidate, he resigned his seat in the Senate. About one week after his inauguration, however, he was for the third time chosen a Senator of the United States. He resigned the office of Governor in a little more than a month after assuming it, and resumed his seat in the Senate.

The nomination of Mr. Hamlin for the Vice-Presidency of the United States was as unexpected to himself as it was honorable; while the unanimity and cordiality with which it was made, and its universal popularity, were conclusive evidences of the exalted character and eminent national standing of the Senator. Having been triumphantly elected on the ticket with the illustrious Lincoln, he presided over the Senate as Vice-President from 1861 to 1865, acquitting himself in that position with great ability and universal approval. When the Republican Convention of 1864 re-nominated Mr. Lincoln there was a desire to have a Southern man associated with him on the ticket, and Mr. Hamlin was set aside for Andrew Johnson, much to the subsequent regret of the party.

Mr. Hamlin was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston, but resigned in the following year on account of his disapproval of the policy of President Johnson. He was subsequently re-elected to the Senate, and took his seat for the fourth time as a member of that body March 4, 1869. Of Mr. Hamlin's general congressional career a judicious writer has said:

It is but stating the truth to say that during his entire congressional service Mr. Hamlin has displayed in an eminent degree the qualities of a prompt, intelligent, and efficient business man. His executive abilities are of a rare and high order. He has made it a first object to meet the demands made upon him by his own constituents and State. Every letter of this sort is promptly attended to and answered. What a draft this has constantly made upon his time and efforts every man who knows anything of the requirements made of a Congressman will be able to appreciate. All parties in Maine have demanded these services of Mr. Hamlin, and have accorded him the praise of fidelity and efficiency in devotion to their interests. The heads of the Treasury and of the Customs Departments, including such men as Secretary Guthrie, Secretary Hodge, and Governor Anderson, have declared Governor Hamlin to be the best business man in the Senate. During his entire service as a Senator he has been a member of the very laborious and important Committee on Commerce, and

was its Chairman for seven years. In this latter capacity he had supervision of all the great questions and measures affecting the commerce of the country, both domestic and foreign, acted upon by that Committee—no bill being reported which he had not fully understood by personal investigation.

The later record of Mr. Hamlin's senatorial course seems to indicate a greater attention to the current and actual business of the Senate than any inclination to long and elaborate speeches. Of these latter the history of the Forty-first Congress reveals to us but few. "I believe," said he on one occasion, "I do not occupy the three and a half minutes that I am entitled to out of a day's session here; and if Senators would vote as cheerfully as I will vote, without talking, we should have passed the Mississippi bill yesterday."

With the concluding remarks of Mr. Hamlin's brief speech in the Senate on the occasion of the death of his colleague, Mr. Fessenden, we close this sketch:

Mr. President, there are events connected with the Senate which the solemnities of the occasion seem to impress upon me with peculiar force, and to which I may appropriately refer. I run my eye over the Senate Chamber to-day, and of all the men which constituted the body upon my entrance into it as a member, but a single one, but a single one now remains with me. That one is my honored friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania, who sits nearest to me, (Mr. Cameron;) and it is no slight compensation for the annoyance incident to public life to know that intimate and most friendly relations which were then formed in all changes and antagonisms of public life have never for one moment been disturbed. Could we have been transferred from that time to the present, from the Senate as it then was to the Senate as it now is, how startling would be the change! We would find ourselves in association with those who would be strangers to us. It teaches a moral that all may heed.

During the period of time referred to the Senate has certainly been graced by many of the most eminent and distinguished American Senators. Clay, with his clarion voice and fervid eloquence; Calhoun, with his captivating manner and subtle metaphysics; Webster, with his words of masterly power; Benton, with his comprehensive knowledge of the legislation of the country and an indomitable will; Douglas, with an earnestness and courage to meet and, if possible, to overcome all obstacles in his way; and Collamer, with his plausibility to persuade, and his learning and his logic to convince, and Cass and Clayton, are certainly some of the Senators whose names stand highest upon the roll of senatorial fame. Their names, and others that might be designated, will be remembered while the Republic or its history shall exist; and to this list is now to be added the name of Fessenden, my late colleague. There it will remain imperishable as one of the great American Senators.

JAMES HARLAN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Harlan was continued a member of the Committees on Foreign Relations and the Pacific Railroad, and was placed as Chairman on the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. Harlan's course in this Congress continued to be characterized by his usual diligence, capacity, and fidelity. He opposed the bill for repealing the Tenure of Office law, and in his speech against the repeal he expressed apprehensions that the pressure upon Senators for the abrogation of the law might have been stimulated more or less by the personal interest of a multitude of gentlemen residents of Washington. He added :

The framers of the Constitution intended that this body, at least, should be lifted above the influence of public clamor. I have sometimes thought there was a possibility of the judgment of Senators being to some extent shaken by what is understood, outside of official information, to be the judgment of an illustrious officer now at the head of another branch of the National Government. I heartily join in the common judgment that that officer deserves the universal gratitude of the nation which he has received. He doubtless richly merits the confidence that has been reposed in him; but it seems to me that Senators ought not to forget, while joining in this universal expression of gratitude and confidence in the nation's benefactor, that the framers of the Constitution intended to place the Senators and House of Representatives on an official plane equally high with that occupied by the President of the United States.

Why, sir, the Constitution clothes this body and the co-ordinate branch of Congress with the power to make laws by a vote of the majority of each branch with the concurrence of the President, and by a vote of two thirds without his concurrence. The power to enact laws is the highest power known to civil government. . . . When the framers of the Constitution clothed Congress with the power to make the nation's laws over the disapproval of the President, they vested Congress with the supreme power of the nation. They could not have intended that the matured, deliberate judgment of either branch should be controlled by the judgment of any other organ of the Government. And when the framers of the Constitution placed a still higher power in the two branches of Congress—the power to bring to the bar of the Senate, and at the disposal of the judgment of the Senate, the highest officer under the Constitution for sufficient reason alleged and proven—it is manifest to my mind that they intended that the Senate should occupy a plane not inferior in dignity and power to that occupied by any other public functionary. . . . Senators should never forget that they and the members of the House, and not the President, are made responsible by the Constitution for the enactment, the modification, or the repeal of laws; and that it is the President's constitutional duty to see that they are faithfully executed, whether enacted with or without his approval.

JOHN S. HARRIS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Harris served on the Committee on Printing and the Committee on the District of Columbia. He continued to take a deep interest in the passage of a measure for the protection of the alluvial lands in the Valley of the Mississippi, which he had urged upon the attention of the previous Congress. On the second of June, 1870, he made an elaborate speech in favor of this measure, endeavoring to "bring it out of the comparatively narrow range of local and sectional affairs into its true position of broadly national interest and value, worthy of the attention and just aid of the Federal Government." In the opening paragraphs Mr. Harris thus eloquently presents the relation which the Mississippi holds to the country :

Our situation in Louisiana and the region adjacent on the Lower Mississippi is peculiar in its physical aspects. The great highway to and from the vast upper basin passes at our doors. Build railroads as we may, a great navigable river will always be a highway ; immense freights will pass over it, and travelers will delight in the comfort and luxury it offers them. The Mississippi Valley is two fifths of our national domain ; the river and its tributaries afford a water-carriage of more than sixteen thousand miles, forming a system of river navigation unequalled in the world, and with a commerce which is so immense as to startle the imagination.


In 1860 the foreign commerce of the United States was \$160,000,000 ; but in 1865 the trade of nine cities on the Mississippi and its tributary, the Ohio, was \$747,000,000, and the annual commerce of the Mississippi Valley is now estimated at \$2,000,000,000. Of this great trade a large amount is through this river. The products of distant farms and forests come to us from the far north, and the products of inland mines and factories and workshops are to come, in untold quantity and variety, in the future. Our cotton and sugar and fruits go up the river, and the products of distant foreign lands are transhipped to the interior. We are thus linked in fortune and interest to millions of people, and whatever adds to our wealth and security, or to the area of our rich soil, adds to their resources as well.

A score of mighty rivers, each with its many tributaries, join to swell the tide of many waters that sweeps past us to the Gulf, and the restraint and safe direction of which is too important to the country to be left to private caprice or partial and conflicting State legislation. In the late war it was thought that the control of the Mississippi held the Union together, and that control was gained and the river kept open at a fearful cost of treasure and of blood. As in war, so now in peace, we recognize instinctively how this region along its banks and near its outlet is peculiarly and closely linked to distant States.



Joshua Hill.

JOSHUA HILL.

 JOSHUA HILL was born of Virginia parents in Abbeville District, South Carolina, January 10, 1812. He received a liberal education, studied law, and practiced his profession successfully in the courts of Georgia and the United States. He entered political life as a Whig, and was a delegate to the National Convention of that party, which nominated Harrison and Tyler in 1844.

He was elected a Representative from Georgia to the Thirty-fifth Congress, and was a member of the Committee on Public Lands. He was re-elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress, in which he served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. When Georgia seceded in 1861, he alone of the delegation in Congress refused to withdraw and go into the Rebellion. He resigned and returned to Georgia, where he carefully avoided all recognition of the Confederacy as his government. He received in 1863 a complimentary vote for Governor from the opponents of secession. In 1866 he was appointed Collector of the Port of Savannah, and in 1867 he was appointed Register in Bankruptcy, but declined both offices. In July, 1868, he was elected to the United States Senate as a Union Republican, but owing to the failure of the State fully to comply with the terms of Reconstruction, he was not admitted to his seat until February 1, 1871. In the few opportunities afforded him during the brief remainder of the Forty-first Congress of participating in debate, Mr. Hill proved himself to be an able and forcible speaker. In the course of a speech on the subject of Schools in the District of Columbia, Mr. Hill advocated the policy of providing separate schools for the colored people as more likely to accord with their own choice, deriving this conclusion as the result of life-long and careful observation.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Howard was Chairman of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad, and was a member of the Committees on Territories and on Military Affairs. He was one of the most strenuous and able opponents of the repeal of the Tenure of Office law. His presentation of the question was as follows:

“The Constitution is a letter of attorney conferring upon the President and Senate this joint power of putting A. B. into office. If this be the joint act of the two bodies, the Executive and Senate, then I ask any man how one of these two parties to whom the power is thus jointly given can revoke or annul the act of the two parties in making the appointment? To admit such a doctrine is to admit that, in such a case, one of the two joint parties has power to undo the very thing to perform which the consent and act of both parties were required.

“That has always been my view of the power of removal, and in this I have the support of such men as Webster and Clay and Kent, and various others of the most brilliant luminaries of the law ever produced in the United States. And I might add two other names equally famous in our history, equally profound in their knowledge of constitutional law—Thomas H. Benton and John C. Calhoun.”

Pending the bill for the settlement of Southern claims for military supplies in rebel States, Mr. Howard remarked as follows:

“War is a scourge to all the parties concerned in it. It punishes the innocent as well as the guilty; it punishes the friend as well as the enemy. It is a calamity to both parties; it is like a tornado that sweeps over the country, destroying indiscriminately life and property of all classes of persons, not to be controlled by any human will, direction, or purpose. It is a misfortune—a calamity in which all persons concerned in it must submit to; and there is no such principle of public law as requires the government of one of the parties to a war to indemnify all its own citizens who happen to be in the enemy's country, all losses which they may incur or which they may sustain. On the part of Congress I hold that there is no obliga-

tion known to public law, or even to morals, requiring this act at the hands of the Government of the United States."

On the proposal to procure a portrait of the late General Thomas, to be placed conspicuously in the National Capitol, Mr. Howard gave the following tribute to that officer:

"There is no officer of the army to whose memory I would render this honor any sooner than to General Thomas. His military career was most brilliant and of inestimable value to the country, and he is deserving of all the honor the United States can confer upon him. The people of the United States will not be slow to render honor to so great a man. They will not be slow to recognize his great and important services to the country. No picture of him that Congress can purchase and pay for will contribute to the perpetuation of his great fame. Thomas will be known in his achievements, and recorded upon the page of history—the most important page the world has ever seen."

Mr. Howard thus stated his ground for favoring the proposition of a pension to Mrs. Lincoln:

"This pension is justly and fairly due to Mrs. Lincoln for the same reason that we are in the habit of granting pensions to the widows of other officers of the army. I put it solely on that ground. Mr. Lincoln was Commander-in-Chief of the army, and at the time of his assassination there was under his command a military force numbering not far from a million men, so to speak, in battle array. It was during the flagrancy of the war that he was assassinated by one of the enemies of the United States in a clandestine, cowardly, unsoldierly manner; nevertheless, his death differed in no respect, so far as I can see, from the ordinary death of a soldier or an officer on the field of battle."

Mr. Howard's senatorial term closed March 4, 1871, when he immediately returned to his home at Detroit. It is mournful to add that he had been at home but a few days before he was seized by a fit of apoplexy and suddenly expired, being in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

TIMOTHY O. HOWE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Howe acted as Chairman of the Committee on Claims, and was also a member of the Select Committee on Political Disabilities and of the Joint Committee on the Library. Among the speeches of Mr. Howe during this Congress were those relating to the admission of Virginia to representation, and in one of these addresses he gives the following expression to his views of the necessity of the ballot for the freedmen:

We have finally insisted that the ballot shall be put into their hands, and that they shall have that sort of protection which the ballot affords. That is not very ample anywhere, but it is something; because you know, sir, and we all know, that where I have the right to go to the polls just once in the year and vote against a man or against a party, there is some limit to the injustice and wrong and oppression which that man or party will attempt to inflict upon me during the year. You know, sir, and we all know, that however ignorant a man may be, or however depraved he may be, or however black he may be, you cannot kick him three hundred and sixty-four days in the year without exposing yourself to the liability of his voting against you on that day when he comes to the polls; so that, wherever this power is in the hands of a man, he has some means of protection. We have, therefore, insisted on putting this sort of protection into the hands of the loyal whites and black men in those States.

Responding to an arraignment of the Republican party by Mr. Thurman, who pronounced it a failure, Mr. Howe thus answered the Ohio Senator:

I differ very widely from that honorable Senator in his estimate of the past career of the Republican party. I am one of those who still cherish the conviction that Republican administration has not been a failure. Nay, more, sir; I am even rash enough to stand here and assert that, in my judgment, Republicanism has been a success. I think more than that—it has been a triumph. I venture to go farther than that, and to say to any student of political history that he cannot find the story of a political party which, in a single decade, has accomplished so much for human rights and for human progress as the Republican party has during that less than a decade in which it has held the reins of Government.


In the commencement of his speech on the consolidation of the National Debt Mr. Howe alluded to an intimation by Mr. Bayard of injustice practiced against the South by Congress, and responded:

On the contrary, Mr. President, we cherish the faith that this administration of the Government is the first one which ever undertook to carry justice to the southern section of the United States—which ever assumed the immense labor of enforcing justice within that portion of our common country.



J. B. Howell

JAMES B. HOWELL.

AMES B. HOWELL was born near Morristown, New Jersey, July 4, 1816. In 1819 his father, Elias Howell, moved his family to Ohio, and settled on a farm in Licking County, some ten miles north of Newark. In a few years, owing to his extraordinary energy, sound judgment, and popular address, he became one of the most prominent and influential men in the county, as shown by his election as Sheriff of the county in 1826, as State Senator in 1830, and Representative to Congress in 1834. The subject of this notice spent his early boyhood on the farm, where school advantages were very limited. Not long after his father's removal to Newark, in 1826, an excellent high-school was opened there, in which he commenced his academic course. In 1833 he entered the Freshman class in Miami University, where he was graduated in 1837.

Choosing the profession of the law, Mr. Howell then spent two years as a law student with Judge Hocking H. Hunter, of Lancaster, Ohio, where he also enjoyed the acquaintance, and frequently witnessed the forensic efforts, of Thomas Ewing, Henry Stanberry, and other distinguished lawyers. In 1839 he was admitted to the bar, and settled in Newark. In 1840 he was the Whig candidate for Prosecuting Attorney in Licking County, and took an active part in the famous Harrison campaign, but failed to be elected, although, under the excitement of the times, and the unpopularity of the Van Buren administration, the usual Jackson majority of one thousand or thereabouts was reduced to one or two hundred.

In the spring of 1841 Mr. Howell, suffering from bad health, determined to find a home or a grave in the "great West," and made his way slowly on horseback first to Sandusky, Ohio, and thence to Chicago, which he found to be a growing village in a

mud-hole, presenting no special attractions just then for a young attorney.

Pushing on from Chicago to Muscatine, Iowa, Mr. Howell rested there for a few days, and, after making some observations, concluded to settle at Keosauqua, in Van Buren County, then one of the most important and promising places in the territory. It became the home of many who subsequently acquired prominence at the bar or in politics. Here were Hon. George G. Wright, afterward so long an eminent member of the Supreme Judiciary of the State, and now a United States Senator; Hon. A. C. Hall, subsequently Chief Justice of Nebraska, and a man of commanding abilities; Delazon Smith, subsequently a member of Congress from Oregon, and a very brilliant speaker; J. C. Knapp, Judge Summers, C. C. Nourse, afterward Attorney-General of Iowa; Hon. H. C. Caldwell, now United States District Judge of Arkansas, and others of fine ability. No place in the young commonwealth ranked higher in talent or the social character of its population. Locating here, Mr. Howell's ability and force of character had immediate recognition, and secured him large influence at the bar and in politics. He became one of the Whig leaders of the Territory. He was influential and sagacious in counsel, and an indefatigable worker. With every political contest of moment he had a marked connection. At that day, thereabouts, almost every lawyer was a politician; and Mr. Howell's blood was too impetuous for him to be indifferent to his convictions, or a trimmer or laggard in party struggles. He drifted away from the practice of law into politics. This was not until he had purchased, and been for some time conducting, "The Des Moines Valley Whig," a paper which had a sickly existence there for some time before he took hold of it in 1845. He had no purpose of quitting the law when he purchased the "Whig;" his purpose was to give his party a live and efficient organ. But he was too much in earnest to do half-way work. His paper absorbed his time and feelings, and he at last gave up entirely his law practice for the arduous, active, and exciting life of a political editor.

Iowa passed from Territory to State. Keosauqua came to a stand-still in growth. Keokuk, on the Mississippi River, at the foot of the Des Moines Rapids, sprang into life as "The Gate City" of the Des Moines Valley, and the most important place in it. Mr. Howell transferred his paper there in 1849. He has resided there and published his paper there ever since. The change gave increased circulation and influence to the paper, now called "The Daily Gate City." Despite a life given to it, however, and the unremitting labor it has exacted, Mr. Howell is scarcely a journalist *per se*. He was always more than his paper. It did not give influence to him; he gave influence to it. While universally recognized as a vigorous and strong writer, his friends always found more in him than there was in it. Thus, while that never attained a State circulation, he never was without a State influence; he never ceased to be one of the recognized strong leaders of his party throughout Iowa.

As long as the Whig party kept its organization he worked with it and for it. The name outlived the party, which died in 1852 at the close of the Scott campaign. From that date to 1856—a period of transition and new formation, characterized by the increasing anti-slavery agitation, the "Know-nothing" frenzy, the Temperance and Maine-law contest, the Nebraska-Kansas struggle, the incipient disintegration of the old Democratic party, and the organization of all the anti-slavery elements into the powerful Republican party—Mr. Howell labored zealously, through his paper and otherwise, to unite and fuse the elements of opposition to the pro-slavery party which resulted in the election of James W. Grimes as the first anti-Democratic Governor in Iowa in 1854. In 1855 and 1856 he strenuously advocated the adoption of the name of Republican for the new anti-slavery party. He signed the call for the Convention which organized the Republican party in Iowa, and as a member took an important part in its proceedings. In 1856 he was a delegate from Iowa to the Fremont Convention in Philadelphia, whose platform and candidate he supported with ability and zeal. He participated fully in the fiery agitation which culminated in the

Kansas troubles under Buchanan, and the fatal disruption of the Democratic party. The efficient labors and wise counsels of Mr. Howell were potent in each successive step of the transformation of Iowa from a constantly Democratic to an overwhelmingly Republican State. Heartily approving the nomination of Lincoln in 1860, he took an active part in the ensuing campaign in Iowa. The redemption of the nation from slave rule had been one of the cherished hopes of his life, and one of the ends of all his political work. Such was his constant well-known and earnest hostility to slavery, that in the Whig days, when he was not an Abolitionist at all, he was constantly denounced by the opposition as one of the chiefs of Abolitionism.

Lincoln was elected, and the Southern States seceded. The issue stirred the earnest and impetuous nature of Mr. Howell to its depths. He was one of the foremost in kindling patriotism to preserve the Union. That prominence he maintained throughout the war. He could not enter the service, for a fall received just before the outbreak of the Rebellion crushed the bone of his leg in several places, and badly crippled him for life. The work that remained for him to do he did with all his might—standing steadfastly by Mr. Lincoln, and only impatient with him when he held back from earnest work and spared slavery.

Advocating the re-election of Lincoln, opposing the corruption and malfeasance of the Johnson administration, urging Grant's election to the Presidency as the hope of the Union cause from the time that Johnson made him Secretary of War, supporting the reconstruction measures of Congress, his long and able service to the Republican cause was finally recognized by the Republican Legislature of Iowa when, in January, 1870, it elected him as Senator in Congress to fill the unexpired term of Hon. James W. Grimes, who had previously, on account of ill health, resigned the seat he had so long and so ably filled.

Assuming his seat in the Senate January 26, 1870, the wide and varied experience which Mr. Howell brought in legal, editorial, political, and business affairs, enabled him at once to take high

standing among Senators as a man of tact, sound judgment, and eminently practical views.

Shortly after his entrance he delivered a speech on the subject of land grants in aid of railroads, in which he advocated a wise economy in the disposition of the lands, and the imposition of the conditions that the railroad companies should sell their lands within limited periods and at a limited price ; and, in passing, he paid an eloquent and glowing tribute to the State of Iowa, whose wonderful career and splendid record in peace and war he claimed were second to no other State. During the same session the new Senator made his mark as a rigid economist, and as an enemy of jobs of all kinds.

During the next session, commencing in December, 1870, it devolved upon him, as a member of the Committee on Pensions, to take charge of the House bill granting pensions to the soldiers of the War of 1812, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the Chairman of the Committee, was carried and became a law. Other important bills, and all measures looking to a wise, salutary, and economical administration, received his earnest, attentive, and hearty co-operation. His senatorial term, expiring March 3, 1871, was brief ; and, considering the embarrassments which surround a new Senator, and especially one who comes in for a short term, arising from the reserved and conservative character of that dignified body, it may be said that few Senators under like circumstances have achieved greater success than Mr. Howell.

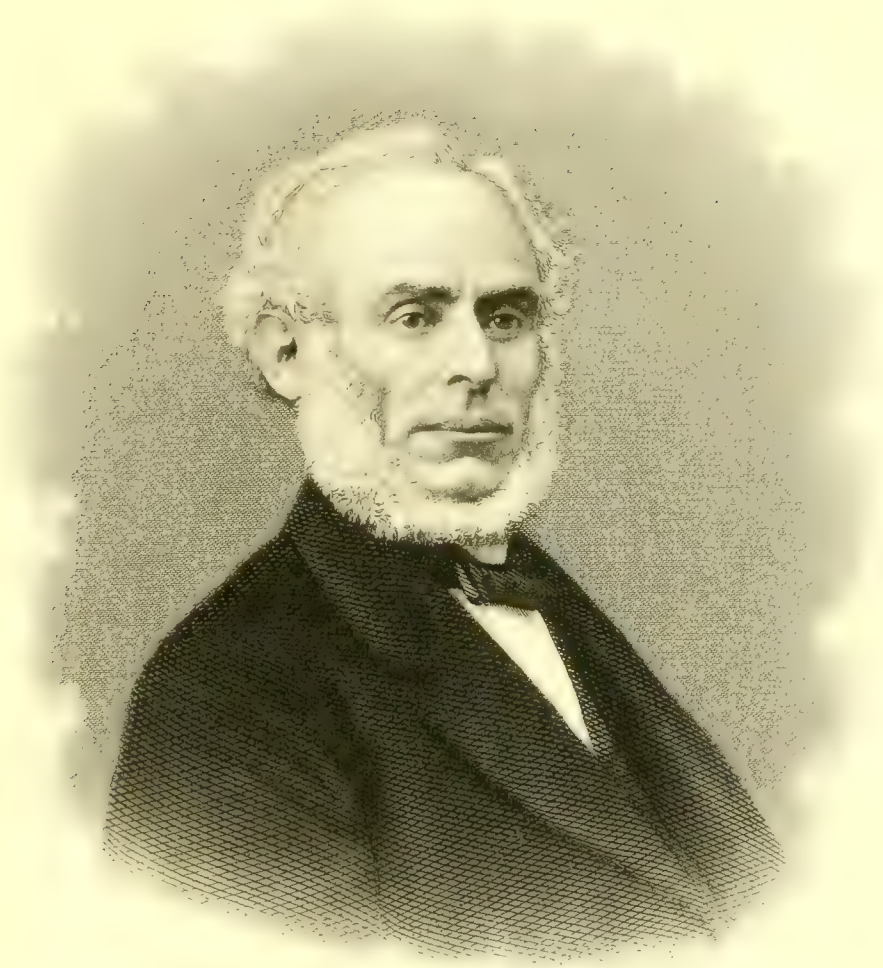
Shortly after the close of the session the President selected him as one of the three Commissioners authorized by the act of March 3, 1871, to examine and report upon claims for stores and supplies taken or furnished for the use of the Union army in insurrectionary districts. This nomination, together with that of Judge Aldis, of Vermont, and Hon. Orange Ferris, of New York, was confirmed without the formality of reference to the usual committee—a deserved compliment to the character of the nominees for integrity, loyalty, and ability, which with their other qualifications eminently fit them for their arduous and responsible duties.

JOHN W. JOHNSTON.

JOHN W. JOHNSTON was born at Abingdon, Virginia, September 9, 1818. His father, who lived but about a year after marriage, was an eminent physician, a brother of General Joseph E. Johnston, of the Confederate Army, and the son of Judge Peter Johnston, who served through the whole of the Revolutionary War, attached to Lee's legion. On the mother's side the subject of this sketch is the grand-nephew of General William Campbell, who commanded the American forces at the battle of King's Mountain, and on the father's side a grand-nephew of Patrick Henry.

Young Johnston in early life gave evidence of an active temperament, and manifested great anxiety to acquire knowledge. He received the rudiments of his education at the Abingdon Academy. At the age of fifteen he had prepared himself for college, and on horseback and alone he traveled from Abingdon to Columbia, South Carolina, where he entered South Carolina College, in which he studied about four years, but left without graduating. While at college he was a diligent student, and held a good position in his classes.

After leaving the South Carolina College he entered the University of Virginia, where he devoted one session to the study of law. He then completed his legal education in the law-office of his uncle, Hon. Beverly R. Johnston, one of the most eminent lawyers of the South. In the year 1839, when in his twenty-first year, he was admitted to the bar, and immediately removed to Jeffersonville, Tazewell County, Virginia, where he opened an office and commenced an active and successful career in the practice of law.



John W. Colburn

In 1841 he married Miss Nicketti B. Floyd, youngest daughter of Governor Floyd, and sister of John B. Floyd, who was Secretary of War under Mr. Buchanan. In 1846 he was elected to the State Senate for two years, but took little part in the proceedings of that body, and declined a re-election. In 1850 he was elected President of the North-western Bank of Virginia, which was located at Jeffersonville. He served in this position for eight years, when he resigned and removed to Abingdon, his present residence. Here he continued in the practice of his profession, principally in the same Courts as before, conducting a business which had become very large and lucrative.

He was a Democrat before the war, and when hostilities commenced warmly espoused the cause of the South. After the war his disabilities were removed without his knowledge through the kind intervention of an officer of the United States Army, with whom he had become acquainted. General Stoneman appointed him Judge of the Tenth Judicial District of Virginia, and while holding that office he was elected to the Senate of the United States as a representative of the Conservative element of his State.

Admitted to his seat in the Senate January 28, 1870, during the remainder of the Forty first Congress Mr. Johnston took an active part in the debates on the original and supplemental Enforcement bills, speaking earnestly against both measures. He also resisted the passage of the Naturalization bill, and was quite vigorous in his efforts in favor of the reduction of taxation and the repeal of the Internal Revenue system, of which, in his speech of January 26, 1871, he said :

It is not equal in its operation, but bears with almost destructive weight upon some parts of the country and some important interests. It is badly administered, and cannot well be otherwise. It is demoralizing in its effects, and tends to weaken the respect of the people for the Government and lessen their inclination to obey the laws; and it extends the jurisdiction of the United States Courts, extends the powers of the General Government, swells the already too great patronage of the Executive, is fatal to the individual liberties of the people, and destroys the constitutional rights of the States.

WILLIAM P. KELLOGG.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Kellogg continued to serve on the same Committees as before, and besides was Chairman of the Select Committee on the Levees of the Mississippi River. Pending the consideration of the Currency Bill Mr. Kellogg proposed an amendment, adding fifty millions of dollars to the amount of increased circulation, to be distributed among the Southern and Western States, and in so doing instituted the following interesting comparison :

The Senator from Massachusetts, in speaking of the operation and effect of the fourth section of the bill on his constituents, spoke of it as a hardship. His remarks suggested to my mind the difference between the condition of the people of the State I have the honor in part to represent and that of the people of the State of Massachusetts. The State of Massachusetts, I believe, has about sixteen hundred thousand inhabitants, and \$57,000,000 and upward of banking circulation, or about thirty-four dollars *per capita*. The State of Louisiana has about one million inhabitants, and a little over \$1,000,000 of banking circulation, or about one dollar *per capita*. One third of the entire cotton crop of the South the past season, that is to say, since the 1st day of September last, has been taken to New Orleans. It has required more than \$90,000,000 to move that cotton. The whole circulation, I repeat, is a little over \$1,000,000 in our State. The exchange our people are compelled to pay varies from three fourths to one and one fourth per cent. Now I insist and submit that it is not just to the people of the West or of the South that they shall be allowed only a circulation of a little over two dollars *per capita*, whereas the States of New England and the State of New York have over twenty dollars *per capita*.

Pending the consideration of the Tax Bill, Mr. Kellogg spoke in favor of retaining the duty on sugar :


All my advices, so far as the people, or that portion who are sugar-producers, of the State which I have the honor in part to represent are concerned, are to the effect that this reduction contemplated by the House bill is most invidious, unjust, and discriminating against the grower and producer, and in favor of the refiner; while, on the other hand, the refiners also enter their protest against it. . . . It would strike directly at the interests of the producers of the State of Louisiana; and I need hardly say that there are more than half a million of people dependent to a greater or less extent upon the production of sugar in that State.

The amount now received from the staple of sugar alone—\$33,000,000—is collected certainly and directly, with the least circumlocution, with the least embarrassment, with less expense to the Government than on almost any other staple. It costs no more to secure the tariff on sugar, as imposed by the present law, than it would if the rates were reduced as proposed by the House bill, while by that bill we should lose more than ten millions of revenue.



John F. Lewis

JOHN F. LEWIS.

OHN F. LEWIS was born near Port Republic, in the County of Rockingham, Va., March 1, 1818. His name and lineage are of Revolutionary fame. His paternal great grandfather, Thomas Lewis, was the elder brother of Andrew Lewis, whose imposing statue is among the group, with Henry, and Jefferson, and Mason, around the Washington monument in Richmond, Va., and whose name is the synonym of all that is noble and chivalric in human character. His maternal great grandfather (his father and mother being cousins) was that Charles Lewis who is so frequently mentioned in Virginia history for his daring in the Indian warfare of that early period, and who was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant. His bloody clothes, brought by a soldier, conveyed the first news his wife had of his death.

His father, General Samuel H. Lewis, was, during his whole mature life, a prominent citizen of Virginia, profoundly respected by men of all parties, and whose sterling moral and religious character made him the beloved friend of Bishops Meade and Cobbs. The old veteran, while exceedingly genial among his especial friends, was a man remarkable for his strict religious observances, for his stern deportment in the presence of frivolity, particularly if it savored of irreligion, and for his iron will and irreproachable integrity as a public officer; yet in his latter days he was as tender as a woman in the manifestation of his religious feelings and convictions, and always wept when speaking of his two devoted friends, Bishop Meade and Bishop Cobbs. The name of General Samuel H. Lewis is dear to the Church in Virginia, in whose councils he was so long a ruling spirit.

His son, the subject of this sketch, is heir to many of his traits

of character. John F. Lewis while a boy was noted for his reckless bravery, his impulsive denunciation of wrong, and his utter disregard of public opinion when he conceived it to be in error. These traits of character, belonging essentially to the Lewis family, coupled with his old anti-democratic proclivities and principles, brought him to the position he now occupies with such unmistakable advantage to his State, and with such genuine honesty of purpose.

Born to a farmer's life, and living in the very stronghold of democracy, the famous "tenth legion," as it is still called in Virginia, he of course saw but little of public life until in 1861 he was elected to the Convention which attempted to withdraw Virginia from the Union. His county, although democratic, was opposed to its party leaders on this point; it was thoroughly Union in sentiment, and elected John F. Lewis for his known character and principles. His county, however, during the sitting of the Convention, changed. Pledged with and inflamed by a hundred stump speakers, it was persuaded to instruct its delegates in the Convention to vote *for* secession; but John F. Lewis, like a rock in the midst of the furious waves, was immovable. He sent back word to his constituents that "they had elected him as a Union man—they had sent him there to vote *against* secession—and while some assassins might *kill* him, there was no power on earth that could make him vote for that ordinance;" and he never did.

None but those who were present at the time can realize the intense excitement that agitated Richmond for the six or seven days before the ordinance of secession was passed. Another convention had been secretly called, and had assembled there, composed of the most prominent men in Eastern Virginia, and for the avowed deliberate and determined purpose of raising the war flag should the Constitutional Convention fail to pass the ordinance. It assembled daily, and was a standing threat to the Unionists to drive them from the capital and inaugurate civil war.

Many of the best and staunchest Union men gave way to the pressure, and signed the ordinance. Samuel M'Dowel More was burned in effigy; Jubal A. Early was threatened with mob law;

yet More and Early, fearing the results, yielded to the overwhelming excitement. Carlile and Willey fled from the city, and John F. Lewis was left—not to stem the torrent, for no one man could have done that, but to remain at his post and be true to the last. A hundred times that ordinance was thrust in his face, and the demand made upon him to sign it; but he invariably replied, “I will die first.”

He stood by when his colleague, Colonel Gray, after long persuasion and many threats, was writing his name to it, and, grinding his teeth in anger, he exclaimed, “Never mind, Colonel, you need not be so particular about writing your name, for the time is coming when you will wish it blotted out!” A prominent secessionist, who was standing by and holding the paper for Colonel Gray to sign, angrily replied, “Lewis, I expect to see you hanged yet!” “And I,” retorted the indomitable Unionist, “and I expect to see the time when all such traitors as you are will be hanged!” That he was not killed seemed almost a miracle.

When the deed was done, and the last hope of saving his State was gone, he returned to his home, and during the whole war was an outspoken opponent of the Confederacy, and a warm and ardent friend to the American Union. His truth, his integrity, his honesty of purpose were so well known and so well appreciated that they seemed to be a shield to his open and often reckless Union utterances; and while others were imprisoned or shot down on the roadside, he was spared, and spared to save his State from the internal strife which to-day retards the happiness and prosperity of many of the more Southern States. In 1869 he was elected Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Gilbert C. Walker, both gentlemen running as Republicans, and in November of that year he was elected to the United States Senate.

Mr. Lewis married the youngest daughter of the great Virginia representative, Daniel Sheffy, and in their beautiful home on the banks of the Shenandoah, surrounded by their sons and daughters, they constitute one of the most hospitable families in “Old Virginia.”

THOMAS C. McCREERY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. McCreery, in the Forty-first Congress, served on the Committees on Agriculture, Pensions, and Territories.

The most remarkable of the acts of Mr. McCreery in this Congress was his offer, December 13, 1870, of a joint resolution for the relief of Mrs. Robert E. Lee, looking to a restoration to her possession of the estate known as "Arlington," the burial-place of seventeen thousand soldiers who fell in the War of the Rebellion. After the reading of the resolution Mr. McCreery proceeded in a brief speech to present a eulogy, of which the following is an extract:

From the concurrent testimony of his most intimate acquaintances we are led to believe that General Lee enjoyed a singular exemption from the faults and the follies of other men. He was a stranger and an enemy to extravagance, to dissipation, and to vice. The vanity and flattery which usually attend success could not seduce him from propriety, while his inflexible virtue could defy defeat.

"But his faults and his follies, whatever they were,
Be their memories dispersed like the winds of the air."

General Lee was an American citizen, and the American people will never relinquish the property which they hold in the name and the fame of the great Virginian. His modesty and sobriety, his spotless integrity, his virtue and his valor, will be held up for the admiration and the imitation of mankind as long as those exalted qualities shall have a friend upon earth. . . . His battles and his sieges, his victories and defeats, were witnessed by some of you, and they are known and understood by you all. Many men have been successful in the conduct of military affairs. The Warwicks, the Marlboroughs, and the Wellingtons of the Old World were successful; but who among them all had more genius and less ostentation than General Lee? Was he not a hero? Was he not a Christian? Was he not a gentleman? . . . General Lee has gone to the grave. He was buried, by his own direction, without display. If there are those among us who derive comfort from casting aspersions upon his character, they will do so; but the South and the North and the East and the West will remember Lee. The widowed partner of his bosom still lives, and in her behalf I implore your justice. I do not ask for any thing else. She belongs to a race fond of bestowing charity, but poverty cannot force them to accept it. She owns, but does not occupy, the home of her fathers. Will you, Senators, remove the bar which excludes her from Arlington?

The Senate refused leave to introduce this resolution by a vote of 54 to 4. Mr. McCreery's career in the Senate ended with the close of the Forty-first Congress.

ALEXANDER M'DONALD.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. M'Donald served on the Committees on Post Offices and Post Roads, Manufactories, and Territories. He favored the abrogation of the Civil Tenure Law, urging that the distinguished services of President Grant, and the large support accorded to his candidacy in the several States of the Union, demanded that he should come to the discharge of his duties unfettered by any preventive legislation.

Mr. M'Donald favored also the bill to encourage the establishment of a line of steamships, under the flag of the Union, for the conveyance of the mails of the United States to European and Asiatic ports. Pending the consideration of this bill he addressed the Senate in an extended and highly instructive speech, showing, among other things, the entire predominance at present of foreign vessels in trade with our Atlantic ports. He said :

From the port of New York alone eight lines of foreign steamships are now plying between it and different ports of Europe, owning a hundred and nineteen steamers, of an aggregate of 311,000 tons burden. . . . The cost of this immense merchant marine is put down at \$75,000,000, and is manned by at least 15,000 men, who derive their support and that of their families from the trade of Europe to and with the city of New York. The gross annual earnings of these steam-ships are estimated at \$26,000,000, yielding a net profit of \$10,000,000 per annum, which are derived from the American trade, but which our foreign cousins put exclusively into the pockets of their own shareholders, owners, and insurers. . . . Sir, these foreign steam-ship lines were not established by private enterprise alone, but were, and still are, liberally subsidized by their respective governments.

Following the above, Mr. M'Donald proceeded to make the humiliating statements that during the three months ending December 31, 1868, fifty-seven per cent. of our imports and forty-one and a half per cent. of our domestic exports were transported in foreign vessels ; that in 1853 our commerce was fifteen per cent. greater than that of Great Britain, while in 1866 it was not one third as much as hers. " Furthermore," said he, " while in 1860 two thirds of our imports and more than two thirds of our exports were carried in American bottoms, in 1866 nearly three quarters of our imports and more than three fifths of our exports were carried in foreign bottoms."

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Morrill served as a member of the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Education and Labor, and as Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. He opposed the repeal and the suspension of the Civil-Tenure Act, advocating, however, a considerable modification of the law. He contended that the law was enacted, not merely to bear upon a single President, but was intended as a part of the permanent policy of the country, and was in strict accordance with the Constitution.

Mr. Morrill opposed the act constituting eight hours a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by, or in behalf of, the United States. Against this measure he urged the objections that the eight hour law, applied only to those in the employment of the General Government, is anti-republican, and offensive to all other laboring men; that such a law, universally applied, would be inconsistent with the highest interests of American workmen; that it would not afford any additional leisure which will be made available for mental and moral improvement; that it is untrue that mankind will or can perform as much labor, and of equal value, in eight hours as in ten; that the measure, if adopted now by our whole country, would prove an immeasurable national disaster; and that there are other means whereby labor has been and can be much more efficiently encouraged and protected.

Mr. Morrill favored the abolition of the Franking Privilege—dissenting, however, from the opinion that several millions would thus be saved to the country. On the contrary, he believed that nothing would be saved by the adoption of the measure.

One of the most extended and important of Mr. Morrill's speeches in the Forty-first Congress was that of May 9, 1870, on the Reduction of Taxation—a masterly effort, abounding in important facts and powerful arguments. He started out with the assumption that “owing to the policy of our present Administration we shall soon be able to part with all direct taxation or all internal taxes, and the only subject then that will remain for serious consideration will be the subject of the tariff.”

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Thus entering upon the consideration of a subject with which he is, perhaps, more familiar than any other American statesman, Mr. Morrill thoroughly explored the ground upon which the Republican party stood on this question, and showed that there was not "necessarily any such antagonism as should on principle now or hereafter divide the votes of its members." The conclusion of this important speech was as follows:

Shall we not, from the considerations presented, and from a proper regard for the present position of the American people, all agree,

First, that it is expedient to rely mainly on duties upon the importations of foreign merchandise for revenue to support the General Government?

Secondly, that in levying these duties such reasonable protection should in all cases be given as will favor the consumption of home-made and home-grown products?

Thirdly, that such articles as are usually grouped among the necessities of life, and such raw materials as we do not produce, should bear the least amount of taxation in any form?

Fourthly, that having to some extent created for agricultural products a home market, it ought not to be surrendered and made free to foreign rivals, near or remote, who have never contributed to the support of such a market?

Fifthly, that American manufacturers ought not to be forced by free trade to demand such terms of workingmen as many of the latter came to our country only to escape from?

Finally, the Republican party has the destinies of the American people in its hands, and it should not subordinate them to the mastery of every other country filled with cheaper capital and cheaper labor. Labor here is not only honorable, but here obtains its highest rewards; and it should be our mission to perpetuate this national distinction. The marvelous accession of force added to the productive power of nations by machinery and the Archimedean leverage of the mechanic arts, must not be wholly abandoned to our rivals. The aptitude of our people for all the useful arts; their inventive genius, as displayed in the past and so full of promise for the future; the vast theater wherein they are called to operate and find scope, deserves something more than the cold disregard and the heartless indifference of free trade. The recently emancipated population of the South should be furnished with grander opportunities than it has hitherto had, both of profit and culture, by which its best examples of intelligence may hope to rise above the universal level of the old cotton plantations. Let the energies of our whole people be put in motion by making industry and enterprise prosperous in all directions—of the plow, the loom, and the anvil—and thus give assurance at home and abroad that the year of our deliverance is not remote, when all debts, public and private, will have been honorably discharged, and when to be an American will be to be a citizen of the happiest, freest, and foremost nation of the world.

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LOT M. MORRILL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Morrill was succeeded by Hannibal Hamlin; but on the death of William Pitt Fessenden he was appointed by the Governor of Maine, and subsequently elected by the Legislature, to fill the vacancy, taking his seat at the opening of the second session, December 6, 1869. He was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and a member of the Joint Committee on the Library.

As was proper, Mr. Morrill's first speech in the Forty-first Congress was his eulogy on Mr. Fessenden, his immediate predecessor, who had so long been his colleague and friend. From that speech we make the following extract, which presents the views of the speaker as well as those of the deceased statesman on great historical subjects:

Simultaneously with his advent to the Senate arose in Congress that class of public questions which were calculated to test the temper of his affections, the tenacity of his opinions, and the steadiness of his purpose. Kansas-Nebraska, the stalking-horse of slavery, which under an affectation of defending the Constitution was to conceal the guilty purpose of subversion of democratic-republican institutions, afforded an opportunity for the exhibition of those powers of analysis, logic, and invective which have rarely been surpassed in any legislative body. Here was audacious menace, significant hint, of overt treason which was to follow; here was the first muttering of the storm that was to burst upon the nation amid the convulsions of civil war. This audacious spirit of bad faith, usurpation, and oppression, leading an assault upon popular rights, could not fail to provoke the intensest hostility in one, the very elements of whose being made him intolerant of every species of infidelity, violence, and cruelty.

Pending the consideration of the Currency Bill he favored the proposition to equalize the distribution of the currency. At the same time he demurred at the disposition to characterize the previous distribution as illegal and unjust. He said:

This national currency has a history. It originated in 1863. What was the condition of the country then? There are advocates of the South who say that the South has been deprived of her fair and just proportion of the currency. Why? If any body will tell me why, that will answer why it is that there is an unequal distribution of the currency. Every body knows that the South at the time this system was inaugurated was not in a condition to share in the distribution of the national currency, and that answers that point, I think, satisfactorily.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Morton was Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures and a member of the Committees on Foreign Relations and Military Affairs. He took a very active part in the work of legislation, occupying a prominent position before the country as one of the leaders of the Republican party and an able supporter of the Administration.

Very early in this Congress he advocated the absolute repeal of the Civil Tenure Act. In a speech of March 16, 1870, he opposed the proposition of the Judiciary Committee that it should be suspended until the next session of Congress, remarking:

I believe that the repeal of this law is demanded by the best interests of the country. In other words, I do not believe that the Administration can be carried on efficiently and successfully under the operation of the law. I am of the opinion to-day that the country has gained nothing by the operation of the law even during the administration of President Johnson, and as a party man I will say that the Republican party has gained nothing by it. I believe it was a mistake from the first.

He took a prominent part in discussions upon financial questions. He thus expressed his views upon an important section in the bill to strengthen the public credit:

I think it is very important to the country to establish some limit to this general power of making contracts payable in coin while our currency is depreciated. I know it is a common and popular argument to say, "Let men make contracts just as they please. Why not give the people liberty to make just such contracts as they please, whether to be executed in coin or paper?" Well, Mr. President, the experience of the world is against that argument. The experience of mankind has shown the necessity of protecting the debtor class against usury. That has been the experience in every age and in every country.

Pending the Currency Bill, Mr. Morton opposed the proposition to increase the national banking currency and retire an amount of United States notes equal to the addition proposed to the bank circulation. This he regarded as not in compliance with a pledge recently given in the act to strengthen the public credit that provision should be made at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.

On the 9th of April, 1869, pending the bill in relation to Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, Mr. Morton submitted as an amendment an additional section to the bill, providing that before these States should be admitted to representation in Congress they should

ratify the proposed Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In his speech advocating this requirement Mr. Morton said :

We have already required these States as a condition that they shall put universal suffrage in their State constitutions; and if they propose to accept that in good faith in their State constitutions what objection can they have to putting it into the Constitution of the United States? None whatever. If they shall object to putting it into the Constitution of the United States it will be because they do not accept it in good faith in their State constitutions, and are relying upon remodeling their State constitutions and depriving colored men of the right of suffrage. It is important that we have this question settled, that it shall not hang over the States for the next four years.

So far as I am concerned, I would rather see this bill fail than to pass without this amendment attached to it. I would rather see the whole matter go over until the next session of Congress. I will speak frankly here on the subject. I know what the expectation of the opposing party is. They know the prejudice that has existed in the Western States in regard to negro suffrage, and I know that the Democratic party desire to keep this question open as an element of political success in the elections of 1870 and of 1872. Look at what has taken place in the State of Indiana. The Democratic party in the State of Indiana, for the purpose of preventing the Legislature, which has a large majority of Republicans in both houses, from ratifying the amendment, and to keep it as an open question, broke up the Legislature by every man of them resigning. That Legislature was called together again yesterday, and I am advised that the very moment the amendment is presented the Democratic members will again resign. They have made the calculation that without the votes of Virginia, of Texas, and of Mississippi the amendment cannot be ratified unless it receives the vote of Indiana. Indiana they regard, therefore, as the pivotal State upon which the ratification of the amendment is to turn; but if it shall be ratified by these three unreconstructed States it will then become a part of the Constitution without the vote of Indiana, and the revolutionary measure that has been adopted in the State of Indiana will not be successful after all.

Limited space will not allow even an allusion to all the speeches of this able statesman and active Senator. His speeches covered the whole ground of Reconstruction. He strove with all his energy and ability to secure stringent legislation that would forever prevent the recurrence of the Rebellion. He introduced a resolution providing for the appointment of a Commission to make investigations respecting San Domingo, pending which his defense of the policy against the attacks and charges of Mr. Sumner evinced his masterly ability, while at the same time it completely vindicated the fairness, integrity, and patriotism of those who favored the proposed investigation.

DANIEL S. NORTON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Norton served on the Committee on Patents and the Committee on Enrolled Bills. Pending the bill for the reinstatement of Georgia, and the discussion of the condition precedent, namely, her ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, he said :

If you can thus reconstruct and reorganize Georgia, why may you not reconstruct and reorganize any other State in the Union? If this measure may be justified because of the condition of affairs in Georgia, because of the disturbed state of society there, because of the lawlessness and disorders there, why may you not take the State of Minnesota, and because of its lawlessness and its social disorder, reconstruct it?

Mr. Norton was not destined to see the close of his constitutional term in the Senate. He had for some time been the subject of consumptive symptoms, and he yielded to that dread disease on the 13th of July, 1870, a few days previous to the adjournment of Congress. At the memorial services in the Senate on the occasion of his decease several affectionate testimonials were proffered by members of both parties. Senator Thurman said :

I believe that I have never known a man who was governed in his conduct by nobler sentiments. I never knew him to do an unworthy act; I never heard him utter an unworthy sentiment. He was a man of the purest integrity, and, in the truest sense of the term, a man of honor. He was a brave man, too, physically and morally. What he believed to be right he never hesitated to advocate or defend; what he believed to be wrong no consideration could make him support.

His colleague, Mr. Ramsey, on the same occasion spoke as follows :

In this body, as Senators are aware, we were unable to act in concert upon many questions of public policy, especially upon the grave issues which agitated the country and divided parties in connection with the reconstruction of the South; but notwithstanding fundamental political differences upon those questions, I am happy to say that on very many matters we found in this body common ground for promoting the interests of our constituents and serving the State which had so highly honored us both, and that the friendly personal relations which had subsisted between us, and which had been cemented by seven years of joint service in the administration of civil affairs in Minnesota, were never interrupted; and here at this moment I rejoice, while standing with his wife and daughter at his dying bed and over his early grave, that no personal event occurred at any time to mar the harmony of our relations, or to lead me to doubt in any degree the sincerity of his motives.

JAMES W. NYE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Nye, in the Forty-first Congress, retained his place as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, and was also a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs.

One of Mr. Nye's earliest speeches in this Congress was in reply to a speech of Mr. Sprague criticizing the government of the country as being "a government of lawyers and of judges," in which he said :

He seems to be very much disturbed about the organization of this body because there are lawyers in it. Rhode Island sends no lawyers here. She sends manufacturers and printers. Perhaps she is wise in so doing. She sends whom she pleases, without regard to their profession, and with no regard to any thing else but their fitness for the place. But, sir, who has made my friend the judge over lawyers? Why stands he here to swing his sledge-hammer blows at that profession which is as old as the organization of human society? Why stands he here to arraign a class who have made the pathway of government and reform luminous through long lives, and whose history stands as a burning monument to-day to their great character and services? . . .

The history of this country shows that the earliest and most efficient advocates for human liberty were lawyers. They had read it as a science. . . . Sir, who roused the energies of this doubting country in a time when liberty trembled in the balance for the adoption of the Declaration of Independence? It was the lawyer and the unequalled orator, Patrick Henry. . . . When nullification reared its frightful head and presented its awful form, who but New England's noblest lawyer slew the monster! Who stamped it with eternal infamy! It was a lawyer. The great big-headed, big-hearted lawyer; the lawyer who revelled in his knowledge of law, and whose glory and triumph is the proud title, "Expounder of the Constitution."

A specimen from one of his speeches on the reconstruction of Georgia will serve to illustrate the sprightly feature often characterizing the eloquence of Mr. Nye :

The gallant Senator from Delaware (Mr. Saulsbury) who opened this debate this morning seemed to have awakened from a deep dream, and to have slept sounder than Rip Van Winkle did for twenty years, for he woke up to what Georgia was in 1776. . . . He woke up as from a dream upon the old doctrine of State Rights. Sir, that doctrine, as proposed and propounded and defended by the Democratic party, has cost this nation not only treasure, but blood; and I ask my honorable friends on the other side if they want to again resurrect and bring up that hydra-headed monster. And yet not a speech is made on that side that does not sound as they used to do before the rebellion. I supposed that was a captured heresy, and yet they cling to it, and roll it under their tongues as a sweet morsel.

THOMAS W. OSBORN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Osborn served on the Committee on Naval Affairs and the Committee on Public Lands. While making no set speeches, he was attentive to the general business of the Senate and watchful of the interests of his State. This is indicated by the character of the bills and resolutions which he introduced, embracing such subjects as the removal of disabilities from citizens of Florida; the establishment of steamship lines between certain southern ports and one or more European ports, concerning the remnant of tribes of Seminole Indians living in the Everglades of Florida; the building of post-offices, railroads, and canals; fixing the status of certain soldiers enlisting in the Union army from Florida; the improvement of the rivers and harbors of Florida; perfecting an inland navigation from St. John's River to Key West; the protection of the lives of officers in the Internal Revenue service. He also introduced a bill to secure the completion of the Washington and Lincoln monuments, which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

The disturbed state of affairs in Florida demanded much attention from Mr. Osborn during the period covered by the Forty-first Congress. While at Washington he devoted much time and effort to the attempt to retain his State in the interests of the Republican party. Returning to Florida in August, 1870, after the close of the third session, he found his political friends distracted and dispirited, ready to make almost any terms of surrender with their opponents. The Governor, who had been elected as a Republican, was using his influence to break up the organization and to demoralize its members. The best of them conceded that the State would go Democratic, and were ready to suspend their efforts. Nothing daunted, Mr. Osborn went to work to retrieve lost ground, and, if possible, gain a victory for his party. So efficiently did he labor, and so ably were his efforts seconded, that after a hotly-contested campaign the State was carried for the Republicans by a considerable majority. His friends regard it as an evidence of his shrewd management that Florida is more firm in its adherence to the Republican party than most of the Southern States.

JAMES W. PATTERSON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Patterson served as Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment. He took an active part in legislation and made many able speeches. We select as a matter of general interest the following extract from his eulogy on Senator Fessenden:

He was born within a few miles of the birthplace of Mr. Webster, the life-long friend of his father. Once I heard Mr. Fessenden speak modestly, but gratefully, of the kindly and fostering interest which the great statesman bestowed upon himself as a child and in the opening years of his manhood. In the same conversation he referred with regret to the vote which he had felt compelled to give in the Presidential Convention of 1852. Mr. Webster, when told that Mr. Fessenden had opened the balloting by casting the vote of Maine for General Scott rather than himself, after a painful pause replied, referring to the sentiments of his father, "Well, William Pitt Fessenden has come to his inheritance earlier than I anticipated." It implied an act of ingratitude, and was carried in sorrow, not in anger, to the grave, as his vote had violated his personal feeling to express the will of his State.

But his restless mental activity swept beyond the limits of professional study into the fields of history and general literature. With a fear bordering upon a morbid dread of pedantry, he ordinarily concealed his literary attainments; but sometimes in the seclusion of his chamber he would rehearse a poem with such pathos and tender appreciation of its beauties as to surprise and entrance the privileged listener. Once upon such an occasion, when asked why he did not oftener draw illustration and ornament from the classic authors, he expressed a feeling approaching contempt for the practice of interlarding forensic efforts at measured intervals with borrowed scraps of poetry.

Bitter and widespread as was the disappointment which attended his vote upon the august trial of the President of the United States, no Senator doubted that William Pitt Fessenden acted from a sense of duty in view of the facts and the law as they presented themselves to his apprehension. By what mental process he could reach the conclusion he did was then, is now, a mystery to many who had battled by his side in the long agony of the great Rebellion, and who now cherish his memory with fraternal love. But when we consider with what infinite pain his sensitive and loving nature must have rolled the bitterness of that defeat upon his life-long supporters and party friends, when we recall the calm and quiet naturalness and self-poise with which he moved in and out before us while intense excitement rolled around this Hall and deep anathemas hung in the air above him, we must acknowledge there was no self-seeking, no hollow ambition in that act, but only invincible courage and the manliest political virtue. I do not approve his vote, but am compelled to commend the spirit of self-renunciation with which it was given. That was of the very essence of the loftiest public morality.

SAMUEL C. POMEROY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Pomeroy, in the Forty-first Congress, served on the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads and as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. It might be expected that he would assume a radical position on the prominent questions of the time. He favored the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Law, and occupied strong ground for the Republican policy of reconstruction.

Mr. Pomeroy is perhaps the most remarkable man in the Senate for the activity in that body which is associated with almost no extended or set speeches. In the Index to the Senate proceedings his record is among the most prolix of any of the members. During the long session of this Congress—from December 6, 1869, to July 19, 1870, seven and a half months—he rose to his feet and addressed the Chair about a thousand times, while the aggregate of his remarks during that same session would not exceed, in number of words, any one out of a hundred speeches made during the same months on the same floor. His mode of legislating is largely conversational. You will hear a question, or an answer to a question; or a pregnant statement, comprising a few words; or a hint to proceed with business; or an explanatory sentence; or a call for yeas and nays; or a suggestion of an amendment.

Among the most interesting and instructive of his recorded conversations in the Senate were those pending the consideration of the Indian Appropriation Bill. Here were some of his longest speeches, brief as they all were; and in them he evinced a knowledge of the Indian character at once accurate and profound. Selecting a quotation or two we shall not fail to discern evidence of this knowledge, but may observe also the unpretending and business-like character of his style of address.

I am for paying the Indian all we have agreed to pay him in the best possible commodity. I do not believe in paying in whisky or powder or ball. I believe in paying him in books—in spelling-books and Bibles—and in educational facilities for his improvement and culture. . . . I insist upon it that it is bad policy to pay money to an Indian tribe. I have watched the payments, and I have seen the effect of that policy. I have seen an Indian come in his wildness, in his blanket, and take his eight dollars in gold—his proportion of the payment—and go directly and buy a fancy parasol with it and run away; and that is a specimen of the use of giving money to the Indians.

JOHN POOL.

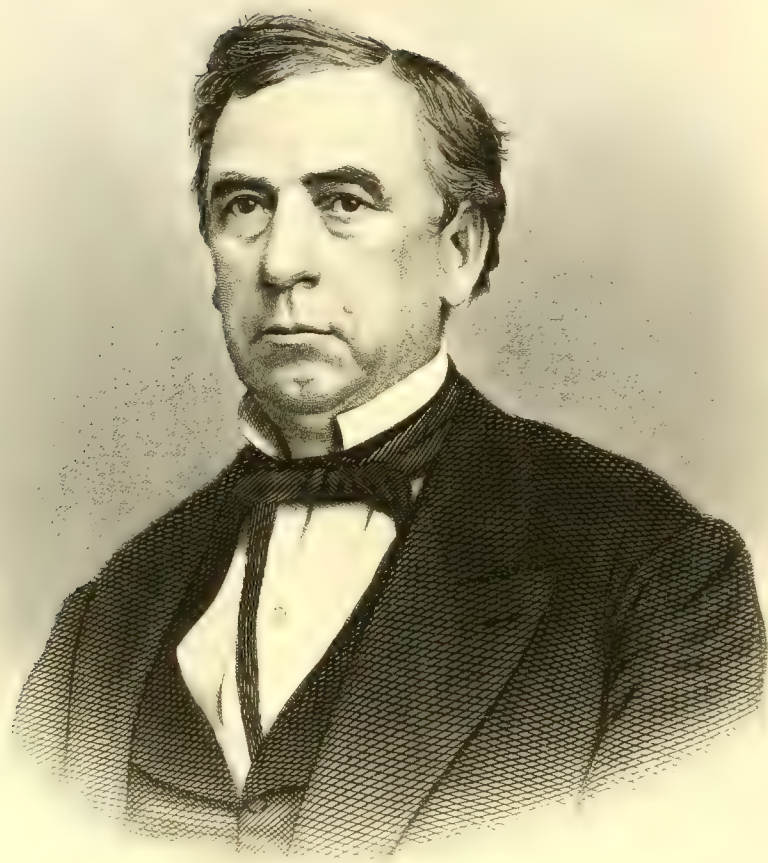
(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Pool was retained on the Committees on Indian Affairs, the Revision of the Laws, and Revolutionary Claims, and served also on the Committee on Appropriations. In the first session of this Congress he made several interesting speeches on the Currency Bill. One of the most important speeches by Mr. Pool, however, in this Congress was in the discussion upon the Georgia bill, in which speech is presented the following grave picture of what is termed the Ku-Klux organization and intent :

We were told by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Thurman) that there were violations of law in the State of New York, especially in the city of New York, where, perhaps, there was a murder every day; that there were violations of law in Ohio and Massachusetts. Very true, sir; and there are violations of law everywhere on this broad earth. . . . But if in the State of New York in any locality murders could be committed day after day, not by acknowledged villains against whom every man turns his face, but by a known organization in disguise, who go at night, and who proclaim in advance their purpose, but not the point where they mean to strike; if in the State of New York, in any locality, crime after crime of the most heinous nature could be committed, and no man, be he officer or otherwise, attempt or dare to ferret out the offender; or if perchance some offender should be ferreted out and arrested, his release be certain and speedy; or if you could bring him up to court, the finding of a bill of indictment be impossible; or if by chance you found a bill of indictment a conviction be utterly impossible, for the reason that his confederates would certainly be upon the jury; that would be a state of things in New York, Massachusetts, or Maine, or anywhere else, that would require the most serious consideration of the government. It would be "domestic violence," "domestic violence" of the character contemplated by the Constitution, and against which the United States is obliged to protect every citizen.

This Ku-Klux business means something. It is for a purpose. Sir, the meaning of it is that the reconstruction policy of Congress is not in accordance with the sentiment of the majority of the white people in that community. The meaning is that a majority of the white people in those States have heretofore controlled their governments and ruled them, and they intend that the same shall be the case hereafter. They mean that the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which were put upon those States by the reconstruction acts before the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, shall be in effect nothing; that they will substitute a higher law than your reconstruction policy and the Fifteenth Amendment, to wit, violence in the localities. . . .

The entire speech, of which the above is an extract, was, though to a considerable extent unpremeditated, scarcely excelled in interest by any effort of that session.



D. D. Pratt

DANIEL D. PRATT.



DANIEL D. PRATT was born in Palermo, Maine, October 26, 1813. His father emigrated to central New York when the subject of this sketch was but a year old. The son of a country physician, he was raised on a farm, and inured to the hardy pursuits of country life. He graduated at Hamilton College in 1831, and in the year following removed to Indiana. He first applied himself to school-teaching in Lawrenceburgh, and was subsequently for a few months Principal of a seminary in Rising Sun. Having engaged in the occupation of teacher to obtain the means of prosecuting the study of the law, at the end of a year he resigned his position, to the great regret of both patrons and pupils, and went to Indianapolis, where he entered the law-office of Calvin Fletcher. When his school earnings were expended he supported himself by odd jobs of writing during the legislative sessions, assisting in the office of the Secretary of State. He was subsequently appointed Quartermaster-General by Governor Noble, with a salary of fifty dollars a year. In March, 1836, he removed to Logansport, where he has since resided. At that time this was a village of about eight hundred inhabitants, affording but little business for lawyers. Mr. Pratt's earnings for the first year amounted to but three or four hundred dollars; but his business increased by degrees, and, journeying on horseback from one county to another during the sessions of Court, he practiced law through most of the northern half of the State. He devoted himself closely to his profession, and was soon regarded as one of the ablest lawyers in the State.

Mr. Pratt was a Whig during the life-time of that party, and took a deep interest in its success. He was always ready to

advocate its cause or speak in its defense, but rather declined than sought its honors. Devoted to his profession, he had very little aspiration for political preferment; but in 1847, having been nominated for Congress by his party, he canvassed a district embracing nearly all the State lying north of the Wabash River, but was defeated by about four hundred majority. The next year, being a candidate for Presidential Elector, he canvassed the same district with Dr. Fitch, afterward United States Senator. In 1856 he was again a candidate for Elector, and made a canvass in the interest of the Fremont ticket.

Mr. Pratt was several times a member of the State Legislature, accepting the position not from any desire to occupy political place, but at the instance of personal friends of all parties who desired the enactment of good laws, and knew that he was well qualified for such a duty. The Whig, and afterward the Republican, party would have given him the nomination for Governor on more than one occasion, but he always discouraged any movement in that direction.

He was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress by a majority of 2,287, but before taking his seat was elected by the Legislature of Indiana to the United States Senate as a Republican, to succeed Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, Democrat, for the term of six years ending March 3, 1875.

Taking his seat in the Senate at the opening of the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Pratt was appointed a member of the Committee on Pensions and the Committee on Claims. To his Committee work he applied himself with the same assiduity which had marked his application to his profession. During the second and third sessions of the Forty-first Congress he made no less than seventy-two reports from his Committees, which were ordered by the Senate to be printed. He made able and elaborate speeches on Admiralty Jurisdiction, on the Payment of War Losses, and on the Rights of the Settlers on the Public Lands. This latter speech, though brief, was replete with legal and historical learning pertaining to the important subject.

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)


Mr. Ramsey, in the Forty first Congress, retained the Chairmanship of the Committee on Post Offices and Post-Roads, and was continued a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad. He is to be classed among those legislators who, without any lack of activity and efficiency, yet consume but a very small amount of time in speech-making. Ever vigilant, genial, and faithful, we have, however, to search his record long and carefully to find more than one or two protracted speeches in the Senate.

He briefly addressed the Senate, however, several times when advocating, as Chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, the abolition of the Franking Privilege. For this measure he was sincerely and sternly in earnest, and seized every suitable opportunity for calling up the bill and for exerting his best endeavors for its passage.

In answer to the allegation that the movement for the abolition of the Franking Privilege was mainly the work of the present Postmaster-General, Mr. Ramsey insisted that this was a great mistake, and proceeded to illustrate, by numerous and ample references, that for the past half-century Postmasters-General of the United States have continually pressed the matter upon Congress; and as to the present Postmaster-General, Mr. Ramsey asserted that, receiving letters from all parts of the country asking the abolition of the privilege, and asking the Department to indicate how the matter could be most effectually brought to the attention of Congress, he had given them a brief form, and this was all that had been done by the Department.

In the progress of the discussion touching this subject, and responding to Mr. Sumner, who desired the reduction of postage to one cent per half ounce, Mr. Ramsey insisted that the United States rate of postage was extremely low—the least charge for postal service of any nation under the sun. English postage, he remarked, was nominally lower—about two cents of our coin; but considering the limited extent of country, compared with ours, over which her mails were carried, her postage was really higher than ours.

HIRAM R. REVELS.

 IRAM RHODES REVELS was born in Fayetteville, Cumberland County, North Carolina, September 1, 1822. As far back as he can trace his lineage his ancestors have been free. His father was a dark mulatto, and an educated minister of the Baptist Church. His mother was a white Scotch woman, though a trace of African blood was known to exist in her family.

Young Revels obtained the rudiments of an education at home; but, feeling the depressing effects of the slavery which degraded his race, he left his native State and went to Union County, Indiana, where he attended school. After awhile, in search of better facilities for education, he went to Darke County, Ohio, where he pursued his studies as best he could until he was twenty-seven years of age. About this time he entered the ministry of the Methodist Church, and subsequently preached to congregations of colored people in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Baltimore. He was active and successful in building churches and school-houses. In various ways he extended spiritual and temporal help to his down-trodden and oppressed people.

At the commencement of the war he was stationed in Baltimore, where he had been living for five years. He there assisted to organize the first colored regiment of volunteers that was raised in Maryland. In 1863 he went to St. Louis, and established a large and successful school for the benefit of the freedmen. He also assisted in recruiting the first Missouri regiment of colored troops. In 1864 he went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he assisted in the practical working of the Freedman's Bureau, and aided the Provost Marshal in extending protection to the colored troops.



H R Revels

He next went to Jackson, Mississippi, and worked for the establishment of churches and schools. In the journey between Vicksburg and Jackson he came very near being captured by the "Ku-Klux;" but, owing to information opportunely given, he made good his escape. He subsequently returned to the North, and labored as a minister in Louisville, Kentucky, and Leavenworth, Kansas, alternating between the two places. After two years of such labor he returned to Natchez, Mississippi, where he officiated in the churches. At the same time he co-operated with the Republican party, and was elected a delegate to two conventions called to assemble at the capital of the State. The first was to form the Republican platform for Mississippi; the other was to make the nominations for the State ticket. He was urged to accept the nomination for State Senator for Adams County, but with characteristic and becoming modesty he declined the honor. The Republicans, however, would not yield to his scruples, and after much solicitation he accepted the situation.

In the Republican caucus of the Legislature, composed of white and colored men, Mr. Revels was nominated for the United States Senate. Fearing lest the current of good feeling might be interrupted by such a thing as a member of the colored race taking a seat in the Senate of the United States, he at once firmly declined the honor. Other names were then brought forward, but the members of the caucus could not agree, and no nominations were made. After the caucus was dissolved, both white and colored delegates sought Mr. Revels and urged him to harmonize the discordant elements by allowing his name to be used. After much deliberation he acceded to their wishes, and at the next caucus he was chosen without a single dissenting voice. He was elected by a large majority, and took his seat in the Senate, February 23, 1870, for the term ending in March, 1871.

As the successor in the Senate of Jefferson Davis, the leader of the rebellion, and as the first representative of a long enslaved race in the highest legislative body in the nation, Mr. Revels attracted much attention. His first speech in the Senate was on

the Georgia question, delivered March 16, 1870, and was an occasion of great public interest. A correspondent of the Philadelphia "Press" thus graphically depicts the scene:

"Again the Senate Chamber, as during the stormy days of Secession, has overflowed its banks. At nine o'clock in the morning the front seats of the ladies' gallery were 'taken' in person by the occupants, just as they used to be in those historical days when Toombs, Wigfall, and Davis were making their eloquent adieus. Long before the hour at which it was expected that Senator Revels would speak, every available spot where a human being could find lodgment was appropriated, and hundreds who came afterward were obliged to go away. Never, since the birth of the Republic, has such an audience been assembled under one single roof. It embraced the greatest and the least of America's citizens. It numbered the statesman whose name is known on the earth's surface wherever the English language is spoken, as well as the untaught freedman whose existence in the world is narrowed to the circumference of his own family. Who will attempt to portray this peculiar assembly? Africa's sable representatives, with skins like polished satin, were to be seen not far removed from the colorless blondes of haughty French extraction, who trace their blue veins to a branch of the Bourbon family.

"Modestly, in the true sense of the word, uprose the man who had called this vast congregation together. He seemed to have a realizing sense of the responsibility of the hour. He appeared to feel that he was not only a representative of a great State, but for the time being was the intellectual embodiment of a whole race. The writer of this letter listened to the farewell speech of Jefferson Davis in the American Senate. It is not necessary to repeat how closely allied the words of this man were to the destiny of the whole Southern people. It may be proper, in this connection, to contrast the haughty arrogance of one man, during his address to the Senate, with the simple, dignified demeanor of the other under the same crucial test. In no place, except in the cases recorded in the Bible, have the proud been so humbled, and the lowly lifted so

high, the actors all living witnesses of the startling events. In delivery, force, manner, in every thing which goes to make an oratorical effort a success, Senator Revels surpassed the most sanguine expectations of his friends. His brief, pointed appeal in behalf of the Union people of Georgia will soon fly on the wings of the press to every household in the land. Its merits will be discussed in the mansion and the cottage.

“A silence ominous in its intensity wrapped the Senate Chamber during the brief time occupied in reading this speech. At its conclusion strong men like Sumner, Morton, and others grasped the speaker by the hand. Senator Revels did not grow pale under the ordeal, but his Scotch blood burned steadily, and the flame was visible through his bronzed cheek. With this difference he was the minister surrounded by his flock, so far as embarrassment was concerned.”

On the occasion thus graphically described Mr. Revels said :

Mr. President : I rise with feelings which, perhaps, never before entered into the experience of any member of this body. I rise, too, with misgivings as to the propriety of lifting my voice at this early period after my admission into the Senate. Perhaps it were wiser for me, so inexperienced in the details of senatorial duties, to have remained a passive listener in the progress of this debate ; but when I remember that my term is short, and that the issues with which this bill is fraught are momentous in their present and future influence upon the well-being of my race, I would seem indifferent to the importance of the hour and recreant to the high trust imposed upon me if I hesitated to lend my voice on behalf of the loyal people of the South. I therefore waive all thoughts as to the propriety of taking a part in this discussion. When questions arise which bear upon the safety and protection of the loyal white and colored population of those States lately in rebellion, I cannot allow any thought as to mere propriety to enter into my consideration of duty. The responsibility of being the exponent of such a constituency as I have the honor to represent are fully appreciated by me. I bear about me daily the keenest sense of their weight, and that feeling prompts me now to lift my voice for the first time in this Council Chamber of the nation ; and, sir, I stand to-day on this floor to appeal for protection from the strong arm of the Government for her loyal children, irrespective of color and race, who are citizens of the Southern States, and particularly of the State of Georgia. . .

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Rice continued to serve on the Committees on the Judiciary and the Pacific Railroad.

Mr. Rice, as well as some other Senators, has the art of legislating with but few formal addresses or speeches before the body, yet is he capable of such addresses when he deems it expedient or necessary. One of these occasions was his presentation, by way of an amendment to a civil appropriation bill, of a Choctaw claim of long standing, and which he was anxious to see adjusted. He had been active in previous efforts for securing this object, but with indifferent success. In the conclusion of his speech in advocacy of the claim he remarked :

The only question is whether you will pay it or not. That is the only question that any lawyer or any committee that has examined this claim has ever deemed could be raised, except the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Sherman.) I noticed the other day that a bill came here from the House of Representatives to pay the Government of Great Britain \$600,000 in gold, in compliance with a treaty stipulation. Did any body object to that? Did any body object to paying money upon a treaty stipulation with Great Britain? If not, why object to paying money upon a treaty stipulation with these helpless Indians? Is it because one is a strong power and can enforce its rights, and the other is a weak one and cannot? I see no other reason, and I presume no other can be offered. I see nothing in this case why the Senate should not act, and act now. Either vote this down and say you do not intend to pay the Indians one cent, or vote to fund the debt and allow them to have their interest. The lateness of the session has nothing to do with it. The question has been before the Senate for a long time. Let us by a square vote say whether we will comply with our treaties with the Indians or not. If the Senate are disposed not to do so let them say so.

As one of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Rice alone dissented from the majority report of that Committee against the admission of Mr. Ames, of Mississippi, to his seat in the Senate. The adverse report hinging upon the matter of *residence*, Mr. Rice remarked as follows touching that subject :

The first question to be determined is, whether a man in the military service can gain a residence different from that which he held when he went into that service, or whether, being without any residence whatever, it is in his power while in the military service to gain one? That question in this country, it seems to me, should be tried by a rule that is in harmony with the institutions of our country. I do not know, and I do not believe, that we have any institutions or any rules in this country that prevent any citizen of the United States,

no matter in what calling he may be engaged, from gaining a residence wherever and whenever he desires to do so. Whatever rule may have been adopted in other countries, I cannot see that it is necessarily applicable to this country. This is a government of the people. This is a government in which the soldiers are a part of the governors as well as any body else. They are citizens as well as soldiers. They do not lose any portion of their citizenship by being soldiers. They do not lose their residence or any right they may have as residents or citizens that they would have if they were not soldiers, except such as are inconsistent with their duty as soldiers.

By a large vote Mr. Ames was admitted over the majority report.

From the remarks of Mr. Rice on the Senate Joint Resolution in relation to the Northern Pacific Railway Company, we extract the following judicious sentiments :

I have always understood that the proposition to grant public lands to railroad companies was based on the idea of developing the country, of encouraging settlement throughout the country where the road was to run. I have understood also that the granting of land to settlers under the homestead law was exactly for the same purpose. I have always understood that the pre-emption law was based on the same idea. . . . If that be true, the railroad company stands exactly in the same condition as a settler, and there is no more propriety in saying that the railroad company shall sell their land, after they have made it valuable, at \$1 25 an acre, than there is in saying that the settler under the homestead law when he sells his land, after he has improved its value, shall sell it also at \$1 25 an acre. Both were given their land for the same purpose. Both have received the grants in order that settlement might be extended into the wilderness, and in order to crowd back the savage and increase civilization. When the homestead settler does it, he gets his one hundred and sixty acres of land, or whatever amount the Government sees proper to allow. He has gone there under a contract ; he has gone there not as a subject of charity, but as a man who has been granted one hundred and sixty acres of land, provided he will go forth into that dangerous country and make settlement. So the railroad company goes out on the same mission. We contract with the company, "If you will go into the wilderness, build a road, and thereby open that country to settlement, we will give you so many acres of land to the mile." Why should not their title be as absolute as that of the homestead settler? Why entangle them and complicate them by tying up their grant as to the manner of sale? The value of the land consists in their power over it. The value of their land consists also in the improvements that they make upon it by reason of making their railroad. . . . As this settlement and development of the country is desirable, whatever course is necessary to induce it I am willing to take. If it is necessary to give the number of acres of land per mile that is given in this bill I am willing to do it, because the land is without value until the railroad is made.

THOMAS J. ROBERTSON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Robertson continued to serve on the Committee on Manufactures and as Chairman of the Select Committee on the Removal of Political Disabilities. In presenting one of his Reports from the last-named Committee, Mr. Robertson took occasion to remark that he for one had never held the people of the South responsible for their action in the late rebellion.

Their leaders were responsible for that action. The people were not suffered to think and act for themselves. They were fooled by their leaders and drawn into the war, and therefore I do not hold them responsible. Sir, I have lived among the Southern people. I know their characteristic points, and the traits of their character.

Proffering sundry names as candidates for relief from their political disabilities, Mr. Robertson continued :

I have been careful not to put into this bill, large as it may seem to be, the name of any person against whom there were well-founded objections. If the Senate determine that these citizens of Kentucky have a preference over citizens of other States, I do not know that I shall make any objection ; but I think the citizens of South Carolina and other Southern States, who thought that they owed their allegiance to the State Government rather than the General Government, have more claims upon the Government now to be relieved from their political disabilities than the citizens of Kentucky, because their State did not secede, and hence, even upon their doctrine of primary allegiance to their State, they had no right to participate in the Rebellion. They went off to hunt up a fight. They did not fight in their own State. They went far into the South. If those men are to be relieved from political disabilities and others are not, it is for the Senate to determine.

During the discussion in the Senate of the Southern Pacific Railroad bill, Mr. Robertson gave utterance to the following views respecting subsidies :

If we are to go outside of the State in which railroads are to be built, and go into the Territories and give public lands there to build railroads in the States, I for one, as a Southern Senator on this floor, object to it. I am willing to give my vote to grant alternate sections of the public lands in the Territories, where the country is undeveloped, to aid in building railroads ; but not to go into the Territories and give lands there to build railroads in the States. All these propositions to appropriate lands to build railroads through the State of California or in the Territories should be made to stand on their own merits and not be attached to this bill. I consider that this amendment, if adopted, will be a drawback to the bill, and will eventually defeat it. I hope it will not be adopted.

EDMUND G. ROSS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Ross continued to serve on the Committee on Indian Affairs and on the Committee on Mines and Mining. Mr. Ross, in this Congress, favored the repeal of the Civil Tenure law absolutely and unconditionally, and was opposed to all propositions for its retention in any modified or amended form. His speeches in the Senate were always brief, terse, and to the point; and of these a fair specimen presents itself in his remarks upon the question of reducing the army:

Mr. President, this is not a question simply of saving a few dollars here and there to the Government; but it is a question whether we shall protect human life and property on the plains and on the borders of our settlements. It is well known to every Senator here that there has been a constant demand for years for more troops than we have been able to get on the plains. Month after month, and day after day almost for years the Senators and members from the West have been importuning the President, the Secretary of War, and the General of the Army for more troops for that country. Their uniform answer has been that they had not troops to spare; that we could not have them. The consequence is that we have had war on the plains for the last four years. We have war there now, and we have had that war and have it now simply because we have not had troops enough in the army. It seems to me, sir, to be idle to say that we can increase the Army hereafter if circumstances shall necessitate it. Why diminish it at all? It is well known that it is a great deal easier to keep the Army at its present *status* than to increase it after it shall once have been reduced, and I should do so in view of the constantly threatening condition of things there. I hope this amendment will not prevail. The troubles on the plains must continue from year to year until some much more satisfactory system of governing the Indians shall have been devised. The only way now of keeping peace there is by force, and that is likely to be the only way for years to come. Our settlements are extending too far into the West, the accumulation of property is too great and of too much importance to the Government, to risk the sacrifice of millions there for the sake of saving a few hundred thousands here.

Subsequently speaking on the same subject, Mr. Ross said:

I represent a State four out of every five of whose citizens were members of that great Army which championed liberty on a thousand fields, and I feel that I should be derelict in my duty to them, derelict to the memory of that contest, and untrue to a soldier's recollection of their great patriotism and unselfish devotion, were I to consent to this proposition. I have listened attentively to the lucid and comprehensive explanation of the Senator of his amendment, but I fail yet to see the justice or propriety of it. I fail to see the justice of putting it in the power of the President or of any man to give to these gentlemen the polite invitation that we give in this bill, "Unless you choose to resign within the space of the next six months or four months you shall be mustered out."

WILLARD SAULSBURY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

A brief extract or two from Mr. Saulsbury's speech in the Forty-first Congress in relation to the re-instatement of Georgia sufficiently indicates his bearing in respect to the whole matter of congressional reconstruction of the seceded States:

"Sir, there is a conflict between the title of this bill and its provisions. The title treats Georgia as a State in the Union, for it speaks of the more perfect reconstruction of the State of Georgia. What is Georgia? How do we know any thing of Georgia? . . . We have known of Georgia as a State of this Union, represented on this floor by her Senators in Congress, and in the other House by her Representatives in Congress. We knew of her as a State in this Union until 1861; and now I ask, When and by what means did Georgia ever lose her position among the States in this Union? When did she cease to be a State? . . . You speak in the debates upon this very question of 'the State of Georgia,' and yet you talk of the re-admission of Georgia into the Union of States! . . . When, where, how did Georgia cease to be a member of the Federal Union? Did she do it by passing an ordinance assuming to nullify her ratification of the Federal Constitution? My answer is that when she passed that ordinance the President of the United States declared, the Congress of the United States declared, and the Judiciary of the United States have declared that it had no such operation or effect. Did she cease to be a State when she took up arms to make that ordinance good? War, you said, could not destroy the Union. Neither did war do it. . . . Then they (the people of Georgia) were never carried out by force. Force could not do it. What has done it? Sir, this is what has done it, in my humble judgment—the necessity, in the estimation of gentlemen, that the Republican party, as a party, should be permanently seated in the places of power;—not that the Constitution of the country may be preserved, not that the rights of the people may be respected, . . . but that the Republican party shall continue in power, not only for eight years longer but for all time."


Mr. Saulsbury terminated his long career in the Senate at the close of the Forty-first Congress.

FREDERICK A. SAWYER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Sawyer, in the Forty-first Congress, was continued on the same Committees as in the preceding Congress, and served upon them with equal efficiency; and not in Committees only, but on the floor of the Senate he evinced no ordinary tact and ability in legislation. Upon all questions especially relating to the interests of the South he was intensely awake and active, and was deeply concerned to see all the seceded States fully restored to their normal relations to the Union; while, for the furtherance of this end, he was disinclined to favor what he deemed the severity characterizing the bearing and some of the measures in respect to the South which met the approval of a portion of the Republican Senators. Pending the question of the reconstruction of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, he voted against their being required, as a condition-precedent, to adopt the Fifteenth Amendment, regarding it as being for them a new condition, and one which had not been imposed upon the other States. "I desired as far as possible," said he, "to have the vote of those States upon their constitutions, and upon the general question of their readmission to their normal and practical relations with the Union, a free and voluntary vote; that they should come in of their own choice." He insisted that if punishment for treason was to be inflicted upon those concerned in the Rebellion the time for such punishment was past. "Here," said he, "after five years of so-called peace, after all the States but one are represented in the halls of Congress, we are striving to administer punishment by keeping up a little petty irritation by continuing the system of political disabilities. It is the fable of the labor of the mountain—the parturition of the mouse." Referring to the notion that the continuance of political disabilities would insure the triumph of the Republican party in the South, Mr. Sawyer adds: "Why, sir, the continuance of political disabilities simply takes out of the field of candidates for office a certain number of men; and if the triumph of the Republican party in the South depends upon keeping out of the list of possible candidates for Federal offices this or that man, then let me tell that party that they have but a broken reed to lean upon."

CARL SCHURZ.

ARL SCHURZ was born at Liblar, a village near Cologne, on the Rhine, where his father was teacher, on the 2d of March, 1829. After having finished the preliminary course of studies prescribed by the laws of Prussia, he entered the University of Bonn. His studies were soon interrupted by the outbreak of the revolution of 1848. The political state of Germany at that time was unsatisfactory in a high degree. The public mind universally demanded constitutional liberty and the unity of the country. The contest for these priceless blessings was going on in Germany when the French Revolution made chaos of continental Western Europe, which promised to be followed by the day of liberty and unity.

No wonder that the German youth supported these movements with all the enthusiasm and ardor peculiar to that stage of life. Schurz soon joined the circle of devoted friends of liberty which collected around Professor Kinkel of Bonn, one of the best known poets of his day. "Unity and liberty" was the watchword of the great mass of the people; the form under which both might be secured best was subject to controversy, and dependent in a large measure on the course of events. This course proved little satisfactory in Germany. The Constitutional Assembly of Germany had at last finished a constitution for the country when the great powers of Germany and some of the small ones turned against it. At this critical moment Southwestern Germany rose in arms for the new Constitution, which alone seemed to promise the achievement of liberty and unity. Supporters from other parts of Germany joined the movement, among them Kinkel and Schurz. The latter entered the army, took part in some engagements, and was taken



C. Schuyler

prisoner at Rastadt, together with his teacher, Kinkel. He, however, found means to escape from the fortress, while his beloved teacher was condemned to death, and afterward pardoned to imprisonment for life. Schurz, an exile in Switzerland, determined to liberate his friend, who at that time was kept at a prison near Berlin. With great danger to himself he went to Berlin and accomplished the difficult task. In November, 1850, he landed safely with Kinkel in England. At that time his name became first known in Germany.

Schurz remained after that several years in England, a careful observer and diligent student of political life and science. Seeing no good prospects for the realization of his political ideas in Europe he determined to emigrate to America, where he arrived in 1852. That year saw the memorable campaign in which the Whigs, under General Scott, were so utterly routed that the party broke up entirely. The succeeding abolition of the Missouri Compromise put an end to the truce which for more than thirty years had kept at peace the discordant elements of the Union. The formation of the Republican party was the result, coming out of the seething chaldron at that time. To the enthusiastic heart and the keen observation of Schurz it was equally clear which party he had to join. Thus we find him an ardent Republican from the start. From Philadelphia, where he had lived the first years after his arrival in America, he had gone to Watertown, Wisconsin, and settled there with his family on a farm, all the time, however, studying politics and the English language.

The defeat of the Republican party in 1856 had nothing discouraging in it, and the organization went on with great zeal and vigor. Mr. Schurz at that time had mastered the English language to such a degree that he could undertake to speak publicly in English. The power of his logical argumentation and the artistic finish of his speeches arrested public attention at once. He immediately counted among the most prominent speakers of the Republican party. He ran as Lieutenant-Governor on the Republican ticket in 1859, and when defeated there he became

clerk of the Legislature. In 1860 he was a member of the Nominating Convention at Chicago, exerting his influence for the nomination of Mr. Seward. The convention, in recognition of his talents and services, made him a member of the National Republican Committee. Thus he was enabled to exert great influence in the election of Mr. Lincoln, and to be instrumental in shaping public opinion and preparing it for the great trial which was in store for the nation. When the Rebellion broke out Schurz offered to enter the army and to fight as a soldier for those principles of liberty and union of which he had shown himself such an able champion on the tribune. Mr. Lincoln chose to send him as Minister to Spain. The defeat of the national arms did not permit him to stay quietly at Madrid and to enjoy there the leisure and emoluments of his position. In midwinter he crossed the ocean to offer again his services as a soldier for the Union. Mr. Lincoln acceded to his wishes, and made him a Brigadier-General of volunteers. He participated as such in the battles which the Army of the Potomac fought in 1862. The next year he was made Major-General, and fought at Chancellorsville and Gettysburgh. In the succeeding year he served with his troops in the Southwest.

After his return to America Mr. Schurz was on terms of intimacy and friendship with Mr. Lincoln, which position he conscientiously used for promoting the best interests of the country. The abolition of slavery as a war measure was a foregone conclusion with Mr. Schurz when he returned from Europe, and he improved every opportunity to convince Mr. Lincoln of this. In an address in the Cooper Institute in New York he forcibly spoke to the same purpose. In 1864 he took an active part in the campaign for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln.

When peace came in 1865 he was sent by President Johnson to investigate and report on the state of the South. When the able report was ready the mind of the President had undergone such a change that it was received by him in a very different mood from that in which it had been ordered.

In the important winter of 1865-66 Mr. Schurz was the chief

correspondent of the "New York Tribune" in Washington, and as such aided in fixing the public opinion of the North in respect to Johnson's administration.

In the spring of 1866 he became chief editor of a new Republican paper in Detroit, Michigan; but after a short time exchanged this position for that of one of the proprietors and editors of the leading German Republican paper of Missouri, the "Westliche Post" of St. Louis.


Missouri, by her geographical position and her history, is one of those States of the South which had to be reclaimed first for a new life. Mr. Schurz in going there meant to assist in this work of national importance.

In the fall of 1868 the Legislature of Missouri elected him a Senator in Congress. He entered the Senate on the 4th of March, 1869. Always earnest in his political convictions, he has stood up for them and worked for them in the new arena open for him with the greatest industry and with entire independence. His endeavors for civil service reform and for amnesty for the South are well known to the country by the speeches he made on them.

He was appointed a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and as such took a conspicuous part in opposing the annexation of Dominica. The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution authorizing the appointment of commissioners to make investigations in relation to that Republic, and Senators having quoted the report of Mr. Schurz upon the condition of the South as a precedent, stating that he had collected the material for his report in thirty days, he replied:

I was out about three months, and then I had only one subject to investigate, and I had the whole machinery of the Freedmen's Bureau and all the officers of the United States Army stationed in the South to contribute information ready-made to my report. Such facilities the commission which is to be sent to San Domingo will not have. In the first place, they will find a country entirely strange to them, whose language they do not understand; in the second place, instead of finding an organization, so to say, of trustworthy informers, as I found in the officers of the United States, they will probably have to break through a thick tissue of deception to get at the truth.

JOHN SCOTT.

OHN SCOTT was born in Alexandria, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, July 14, 1824. His ancestry on both sides was Scotch-Irish. His father was a Major of volunteers in the War of 1812, and a member of the Twenty-first Congress from Pennsylvania. To his son he gave the common-school education afforded by his native town, the advantages of private teachers of Greek and Latin, and an early introduction to practical business life. He soon evinced a talent for public speaking, acquiring before his eighteenth year quite a local reputation among the advocates of the Washingtonian temperance movement. Choosing the legal profession, he entered, in 1842, the office of Hon. Alexander Thomson, of Chambersburg, Pa., and in January, 1846, was admitted to the bar. He immediately commenced practice in Huntingdon, Pa., his present residence, was appointed Deputy Attorney-General for that county, and held that position for several years. He rose rapidly in his profession, and soon ranked with the ablest lawyers in the district. In 1851 Mr. Scott was appointed a member of the Board of Revenue Commissioners, and, although the youngest member, took an active part in its proceedings, serving on its most important committees. As a member of the Democratic State Convention in 1852 he led the opposition to Mr. Buchanan's nomination for the Presidency, and was the author of a vigorous protest against the mode of electing delegates favorable to him. Threatened with failing health, he visited Europe in 1853, and returned much benefited by his travels. In 1854 he was nominated by the Citizens' Convention for the State Legislature, and refusing adherence to the "Know Nothings," who organized after his nomination, was by them defeated. As soon as Mr. Buchanan announced his Kansas policy Mr. Scott took decided ground against him. In 1860 he was nominated as a Douglas



John Scott

Democrat for the State Senate, the District being overwhelmingly Republican. In the following year both parties requested him to serve in the House of Representatives, and consenting, he was elected without opposition, although his party was largely in the minority in the county. He made an attempt to organize the House without distinction of party, pledging Pennsylvania to the cordial support of the General Government in the suppression of the rebellion. This the Democratic Caucus declined, and he and other War Democrats acted with the Republicans in the organization. He served as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee during the session, and declined a re-election. Although not a politician, in the usual sense of that term, he participated actively in political campaigns, advocating Governor Curtin's election in 1863, and supporting Mr. Lincoln for President in 1864. He was elected a Delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1868, but had his place filled by his alternate, being detained in the Supreme Court to argue a case involving the constitutionality of a law of the State disfranchising deserters—a question in which political parties took a deep interest.

Taking an active part in the canvass of that year, public attention was directed to him as a candidate for the United States Senate. When the Legislature met he was elected to succeed Mr. Buckalew, and took his seat March 4, 1869. He was assigned to the Committees on Claims, Pacific Railroads, and Naval Affairs. His senatorial record shows him to be an attentive, industrious, and able member of that body. In the last session of this Congress he was appointed Chairman of the Select Committee to investigate the alleged outrages in the Southern States. He first spoke in the Senate upon the bill to repeal the "Tenure-of-Office Act." He has since spoken in review of Commissioner Wells's Report; upon the admission of Virginia to representation; upon the eligibility of Mr. Revels and General Ames to seats in the Senate; upon the Funding Bill; in advocacy of the repeal of the Income Tax, and upon other subjects. His speeches are generally brief, sensible, and without attempt at ornament.

Mr. Scott opposed the repeal of the Civil Tenure Act: "We have," said he, "this principle given to us now, a most valuable principle in the administration of this Government, which prevents the President from exerting a power which in the hands of a bad man, with the immense patronage at his command, would be the absolute control of all the offices. Shall we surrender it? I say no. Incorporate it in whatever legislation you may have, and that principle is of more importance to us for the future of this country than any mere question of temporary convenience about men either getting into office or getting out of office."

One of Mr. Scott's best speeches on the floor of the Senate was his Memorial Address on the life and character of his friend, Hon. John Covode, (Representative from the Twelfth Congressional District of Pennsylvania,) delivered February 10, 1871. Referring to the traits of character, public and private, which distinguished the deceased, he said:

He was not a man of learning; he was a man of intellect. It was not that cultivated intellect which often leads men to be mere thinkers, whose thoughts end in dreams and are sometimes afterward caught up and made practical by the earnest workers of the world. His was that busy, practical brain which made him a man of action, a type of the untiring working men who are making their mark upon this active century, who study their fellow-men more than books, and who are indispensable to the earnest thinkers of the age. Earnest thinkers and earnest workers need each other. Earnest thought is earnest work in one sense, but not in all senses. The earnest thought of the commander who plans a campaign or maps out a battle-field may be earnest work for him; but it is not that kind of earnest work which carries forts and routs opposing armies. The men who do this kind of earnest work should live in history, as well as those who plan it and direct it to be done.

I saw recently a large painting of the battle of Gettysburg, ordered by the State of Pennsylvania. It represents the pinch of the fight—the repulse of Pickett's charge. Its central figure is a private Union soldier—tall, muscular, with all the energy of determined action apparent in every feature and in every limb—with a musket clenched frantically in his hands, and drawn to strike an assailant. He seems to be the real leader of all who are behind him. The commanding generals are in the dim distance. I thought, as I looked upon it, that the men of action are, in our day, coming to the front. . . . If a man's life has not impressed his fellow-men his funeral will not. But his funeral may tell how his life has impressed them; and, standing there, no man could doubt the sincerity of the sorrow which his death had occasioned among those who knew him best. A bad man could not be so mourned.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Sherman was still Chairman of the Finance Committee, and a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad. He was a frequent speaker, always evincing clear convictions on the various subjects of discussion, and stating those convictions in a style unaffected, transparent, and business-like. In this Congress he made numerous speeches on the Supplementary Currency bill, on the Joint Resolution to protect the interests of the United States in the Pacific Railroad, the Income Tax, the Funding bill, on the Appropriation bills, on the Mississippi and the Georgia bills, on the bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment, and many other topics.

In the concluding remarks of his able speech on the Reduction of Taxation, and especially of the Income Tax, Mr. Sherman insisted that

When we are paying \$30,000,000 to our pensioners, when we are paying \$126,000,000 to capitalists as the interest upon the public debt, for them to complain of a tax of three per cent. upon their surplus income above \$1,000, because it is inquisitorial, unjust, and unequal, does not speak well for the patriotism of those who do it. . . . I say the most senseless and the most scandalous clamor that has been made in this country is this clamor against the income tax. While we are still levying a tax of five cents a pound on coffee, twenty-five cents a pound on tea, and three cents a pound on sugar of the poor, levying a tax upon every employment of life, upon the sales of every little retail dealer, and sending our deputies all over this broad land to gather the little cents and dimes from them—for the people whose incomes are over \$1,000 to object to an assessment of three per cent. on their surplus incomes I think is scandalous. . . .

It has been proposed to increase the exemption from \$1,000 to \$1,500. I do not think that is right. It may be popular. There are now 270,000 people who pay income tax. If the exemption is raised to \$1,500 only about 170,000 will pay income tax, and 100,000 people will probably be relieved from the tax. But should they be? Is it just? Is it right? There is no reason for any exemption except the fact that the incomes of those who receive less than \$1,000 per annum are necessary for their daily food and consumption. . . . When you go above \$1,000 you reach a region where persons are "passing rich," as Goldsmith's vicar says, "on £40 a year." They are independent when they have \$1,000 net income after paying taxes and all the exemptions provided by the income law. I do not, therefore, see any justice in raising the exemption, although I can see that it would be very popular with the 100,000 well-to-do people who would thus be relieved from the income tax, throwing the whole burden upon those who are of the wealthier class.

The most conspicuous labors of Mr. Sherman in this Congress were those by which he was successful in securing the passage of the Currency Bill and the Funding Bill. The latter bill was under consideration in the Senate and House at intervals from the 11th of January, 1870, when it was introduced by Mr. Sherman, until July 13, two days before the close of the session, when it passed as the result of the report of the second Conference Committee appointed on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

Mr. Sherman on that occasion fully explained the bill and the difficulties through which it had reached its final passage. He said that the controversy between the two Houses related principally to the description of the bonds, the mode of negotiation, and their operation upon national banks. As to the first, the bill, as proposed by the Committee, provided for two hundred millions of five per cent. bonds, three hundred millions of four and a half per cent. bonds, and one thousand millions of five per cent. bonds. As to the mode of negotiation, it was decided to place one half of one per cent. at the disposal of the Secretary of the Treasury for the negotiation of this loan. As to their operation upon national banks there had been a great deal of trouble. The bill as it had passed the Senate required all the national banks to take the new bonds in substitution for the old. The banks, however, raised "a very remarkable and unnecessary clamor against that provision," and the result was "leaving the national banks entirely at liberty to help or to mar the funding of the public debt." Finally Mr. Sherman said :

I wish now to record my deliberate judgment that in this conclusion, to which we have been compelled to arrive by the action of the House, we are doing the national banks a great injury, which will impair their influence and power among the people, and that the opposition of the national banks to this provision, which would have required them to aid in the funding of the public debt, will tend more to weaken and destroy them than any thing that has transpired since their organization. I do not see how we can go before the people of the United States and ask them to lend us gold at par for our bonds, when we refuse to require agencies of our own creation to take them; when we even refuse to require new banks not yet organized to take these new bonds, and when we refuse to require old banks to aid us to this extent in funding the public debt.

GEORGE E. SPENCER.

[Continued from Fortieth Congress.]

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Spencer was a member of the Committees on Commerce and Pensions, and of the Select Committee on the Levees of the Mississippi River.

The earnest attitude of Mr. Spencer in connection with the momentous issues of the time is clearly evinced in his speech on the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment. "The Republican party," said he, "appears to be afflicted with a masterly inactivity, and the results incident to the suppression of the Rebellion, instead of uniting more firmly the component parts of the party, are slipping from our grasp without even the endeavor to clutch them ere they pass away. What is the cause of this apathy? What do gentlemen who claim affiliation with the Republican party mean by tamely surrendering to the Copperheads of the North and the Ku-Klux Democracy of the South, whose panderers and demagogues are seeking power and place only to upturn the Union and render nugatory all that has been so happily accomplished in the interests of freedom, nationality, and loyalty? Are we to lose all that has been realized for the happiness of the country, first, under the auspices of Abraham Lincoln, afterward jeopardized and almost lost through the apostasy of Andrew Johnson, and since re-obtained by the wise administration of General Grant and a Republican Congress? . . .

"The condition of the South, political and social, is truly deplorable. To be a Republican, an advocate of liberty, and a supporter of the administration and its policy, is a heinous crime. It sets a mark upon the brow and a price upon the head. There is no such thing in the South to-day as freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and freedom of action, except it be in those rare localities where the inhabitants chance to be all loyal.

"I openly charge, and can submit the proof, that the people of the South who sympathized with secession and bore arms to war upon the Union are to-day more bitter in their hatred to the government than ever before. . . . This hatred increases daily; it grows with their growth, and gathers in its strength." . . .

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Sprague was a member of the Committees on Appropriations, Public Lands, and Claims. Previous to this Congress he had seldom participated in the debates of the Senate, but in March and April, 1869, he produced a series of remarkable speeches on national affairs. The first was on "the Financial Condition," in which he said: "I am weighed down with anxiety when I contemplate the ruin in store for us unless we pause in the forced policy we have been pursuing since the close of the war." He proposed a plan "to disconnect from the Treasury its jurisdiction over national banks," and to "obviate the scarcity of money and high rates of interest caused by the withdrawal of Treasury revenues from the market." He admitted that the plan, though apparently trivial, was the only method by which the financial problem could be solved. He gave the following among other illustrations "to show that there are little things which govern the greatest of human affairs:"

A few weeks since, in order to understand something of the condition of the South, I visited Georgia, and naturally was invited to inspect a cotton-mill. In the city of Augusta, Georgia, is a cotton-mill that to-day will surpass, and does surpass, in the success of its operations, the best one in New England; and the secret of that success lies in the turn of one roll where the cotton is delivered on the spindle, it turning one hundred and fifteen times to the minute, while others in New England, and even by the side of it, turn ninety or one hundred.

Near the conclusion of this speech Mr. Sprague said:

The subject has worn upon me, and the thought of the condition to which this country is certainly drifting, and the fact that those around me would not listen, nor will they believe what is the true condition of the country at the present time, the fact that no impression can be made upon any body about me, makes me sick at heart and almost unable to move. I would not have occupied the attention of the Senate for a moment if that condition of things did not exist. Sir, if there was any credit, or if there was any advantage to the country in the position taken by me in the beginning of this war, if the force of that example amounted to any thing, or if ever I have done any thing in the course of my life of advantage to the country, this of giving the exact condition in which the country is placed transcends them all.

Mr. Sprague soon after delivered two speeches on the Civil-Tenure Act, the first of which contained the following paragraph:

Now, sir, we have a government of lawyers and judges, educated in one line, practiced in one pursuit; educated upon the quarrels and the exhibitions of the worst passions of human nature; practiced in the dissensions, influenced by the vices of the people. It is such a judgment that is brought to bear upon every thing connected with this Government, and it is that condition of mind which is brought to legislate upon the interest, upon the honor, and upon the advancement of a great people. I for one, in looking back upon the past history of this country—and the people, whatever philosophers may say, will come to the same conclusion—have come to believe that your war has not been won for the liberties of any class of people; your war, just partially concluded, has had no high virtuous principle at the bottom of it. It has had simple contentions for power, for place, and for occupation, commencing here in this body and permeating throughout the country. You have, by the contentions beginning here, through the ambition of one class of men, built up two great, two powerful bodies of people, and you have built them for one purpose—that they might unite with your own ambitious ends for office and place and power, and you have gone from here to your respective peoples, both North and South, in order to create great opportunities, that you might go on in that way prospering in employment and in the office. If the philosophers of this age do not give that exact pitch to the tests about us I am most sadly in error.

In the second speech on the Civil-Tenure Act occurred the following reference to Mr. Sprague's personal history:

One word, sir, in reference to the "manufacturer." He was at school and at work in his thirteenth year under the guidance of a dear and excellent mother, and to her he attributes all that is good in his nature. His father died by the assassin's blow. For ten long years that dagger rested in his heart. In his daily avocations and in his nightly dreams he felt the blow that deprived him of his father. Sir, the blows that he sometimes felt here were not wholly dissimilar. The blow struck by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Nye] the other day dropped deep into my heart, and reminded me of the incident I have related. At the death of his father the estate, if settled up, would not have left a dollar to his father's family. That is the "rich manufacturer" who talks to you to-day. Thrust then into the counting-room, performing its lowest drudgeries, raising himself to all of its highest positions, at twenty-six he was left with the interest under his sole charge. In 1860 or 1861 he had succeeded in giving to this country the largest, the best-arranged, the most successful and prosperous establishment of the kind in the world. He took ground politically, almost by instinct, in opposition to the course of public sentiment. He did not know that for forty years that public sentiment had been wrought up to the pitch of frenzy, blinded both to its own interests and to the danger that surrounded it. He did not know of the condition of that other people who were similarly situated. When the war came, in defense of the whole country he made that appearance before the American public which fastened all eyes upon the movement. The people felt the exigencies and dangers for the first time when that movement attracted public attention.

OZORA. P. STEARNS.



ZORA P. STEARNS was born January 15, 1832, in Dekalb, St. Lawrence County, New York. His sole patrimony was the blood of an active, vigorous, and long-lived ancestry. His early surroundings were unfavorable to intellectual growth, and his early advantages were such only as a resolute and ambitious boy could make for himself.

In 1836, his father having removed to a wild part of what is now Lake County, Ohio, young Stearns began his struggle for an education in a log school-house of that section. At an early period he manifested an unusual desire to get an education. His first achievement in that direction was one term at an academy for which he paid by the sale of chestnuts gathered by himself.

At the age of seventeen he surprised his district by accepting the care of the school as teacher. About this time, his father having "given him his time," his first effort to make his own way in the world was at lead mining in Wisconsin; but failing of success at this he returned to Ohio in the spring of 1850, and for two years labored on the farm during the summer, and taught school in the winter.

In 1853 Mr. Stearns went to the gold mines in California. Here he made money rapidly; but he abandoned mining as soon as he had accumulated enough to secure him an education. He returned to the States, and at once resumed his studies. He first went to the Grand River Institute at Austinburg, Ohio; subsequently attended Oberlin College, Ohio, and finally finished his education in the University of Michigan, where he graduated with honors in the Literary Department in 1858, and in the Law Department in 1860. As a scholar Mr. Stearns always stood high



Ozora P. Stearns

in his classes, and while an undergraduate he took a lively interest in political campaigns in Michigan, where he gained a fine reputation as a public speaker. The admission of ladies to the advantages of the University, which is now an accomplished fact, was then a mooted question. Mr. Stearns engaged earnestly in behalf of the measure, and distinguished himself in its advocacy by his eloquence and ability in debate with some of the ablest men of the State.

In 1860, soon after his graduation, Mr. Stearns removed to Minnesota, where he settled at Rochester for the practice of his profession. In the fall of 1861 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney. In 1862, the war making great demands upon the country for soldiers, Mr. Stearns closed his office, and enlisted as a private soldier in the Ninth Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. A commission was, however, soon given him, and his first two years of service were spent on the Indian frontier and in Missouri.

In February, 1863, Mr. Stearns was married to Miss Sarah Burger, a young lady of fine culture, who had early applied for admission to the advantages of the University where Mr. Stearns was being educated.

In April, 1864, receiving the commission of Colonel of the Thirty-ninth Regiment United States Colored Infantry, he joined that command at Manassas. He was with the Army of the James under General Butler, and at the battle of Petersburg, in the thickest of the fight, so bore himself as to secure a complimentary notice from his superior officer, and the implicit confidence and warm attachment of his command. He was engaged in the attack on Fort Fisher under General Butler, and subsequently served with General Terry in his expedition into North Carolina, and remained in that State until the close of the war.

He returned to his home in 1865 to find that he had been elected again to the office of Prosecuting Attorney. This office he filled for two years. In the fall of 1868 he was a prominent candidate before the Republican Convention of his district for the

nomination as Representative in Congress, but his opponent, Hon. M. S. Wilkinson, was nominated after the fortieth ballot.

On the passage of the Bankrupt Law of 1867 Mr. Stearns was appointed a register under that act, a position that he held until January, 1871, when he was elected United States Senator to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Daniel S. Norton.

Mr. Stearns is an able lawyer, an eloquent and powerful public speaker. He is possessed of sterling integrity, great popularity, and, being yet in the full vigor of life, has a promising future before him. His greatest success has as yet been in the professional field, perhaps, but his brief career as Senator was marked by ability and faithfulness in the discharge of important duty. He was successful in the management of important legislation for the relief of soldiers, and won the respect of his more experienced fellow-Senators.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Stewart was continued on the Committee on the Judiciary, and was a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad, and Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining. He reported from the Judiciary Committee the bill to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, and took charge of it during its passage through the Senate.

On the 11th of January, 1871, Mr. Stewart addressed the Senate at length upon the question of appointing Commissioners to make investigations in relation to San Domingo. From his speech on this occasion the following extract is taken :

If the investigation is made, and it turns out favorably, there is in store for the people of those islands a future more bright, more free, and grander than they ever conceived of before. When the United States stretches its arms of power over them and protects them in all the liberties of American citizens, protects them from slavery, protects them from anarchy, protects them from oppression, those people may enjoy the richest part of this habitable globe as no other people ever have enjoyed that country. It is a future for them that they never had a right to expect. . . . We shall have to meet this question of annexation, not only south but north, in the next twenty years. Our population, our wealth, our railroad system, our manufactures, and our agricultural resources are all so expanding that the commercial relations of this country to the surrounding provinces will be such that they must come and go with us. Canada cannot live long without us; it is naturally a part of this country. There is a large portion of Mexico that never can be developed without us, that never can amount to any thing but with us. The people will see this. Cuba never can be free and prosperous until it becomes a part of this country.

Although we may vote that the question of annexation is not an open question to-day, it "will not down." It will always be coming up. In the language of a very beautiful address by the Swiss Assembly in regard to the question of the rights of the negroes, "Unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of mankind." You may say so of this question of annexation. As long as any part of this continent remains unannexed to this country the question will be open, and will be considered not only by us, but by our children and our children's children.

During the discussion of the bill to strengthen the public credit, and relating to contracts for the payment of coin, he said :

I have been very much in favor of a gold contract law, and have voted on every occasion when I have had an opportunity to do so for such a law; and if such a law could be enacted now in simple form, so as not to embarrass the business of the country and open a field of litigation, I should be very glad to vote for it. . . . I think the decision of the Supreme Court that contracts may be enforced as they are made will tend to relieve business from the embarrass-


ment that was supposed to exist by the legal tender act. I never could understand why we should make it unlawful for a person to buy gold to pay duties with and at the same time require him to pay duties in gold. I never could understand how anybody in the world was benefited by hampering contracts, as the law as it formerly stood was supposed to embarrass them. I never could see any virtue in that law, but the Supreme Court have given it such a construction that I do not think it will be as injurious as the present proposition. If the section is still open to amendment I should like to offer an amendment, and take the sense of the Senate upon the plain proposition of allowing people to make their own contracts without embarrassment.

Pending the bill to amend the judicial system of the United States, March 23, 1869, Mr. Stewart made some remarks, from which are taken the following extracts :

I am aware that this is a very difficult subject to legislate upon. It has been before the Committee on the Judiciary ever since I have had the honor of being a member of that Committee, and we have examined a great variety of plans and schemes, some of them quite meritorious. The plan proposed by the committee is a simple one. It provides that the Supreme Court shall consist of nine judges, the same number of judges that we have circuits. It provides also for nine circuit judges, to give an additional force for the transaction of the circuit court business throughout the United States. We have constant application for the division of the judicial districts, not because they are too large, but because the business is not done. Now, with nine additional circuit judges we shall have sufficient force to do all the work. There is a great accumulation of business at this time. The business has increased much more rapidly than the population and wealth of the country in consequence of the legislation growing out of the war giving additional jurisdiction to the United States Courts, and I apprehend that all familiar with the subject will agree with me that, particularly in the Southern States, we want additional judicial force. We want to send there strong, able men, such as the present Administration, we believe, will select—men of high character, who will be respected by the people and the bar throughout the South. I believe that there is no measure more essential to reconstruction than a bill of this kind, or some bill that will give United States Courts to that section of the country which shall not only be able to do all the business that is brought before them, but which shall have judges upon the bench of such a character as to command the respect of the people.

There is no class of officers in this Government who do so much to mold public opinion, to correct public morals, and give us peace in the country, as a strong judiciary. It is the arm of the Government by which we instruct the people in the principles of law and justice and fair dealing, and make them fit to govern themselves. It is not only for the mere matter of dealing out private rights, but the courts of your country are institutions of learning, through the means of which the Government teaches to the people the rights of man; and where you have a high and honorable judiciary you have a bar that will strive to be honorable, and you will have a people that will be improved constantly.

JOHN P. STOCKTON.

OHN P. STOCKTON was born in Princeton, New Jersey, August 2, 1826. His ancestors were distinguished in the history of the country. His great-grandfather was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. His grandfather and his father preceded him in the Senate of the United States, the latter having previously won distinction as an officer in the navy.

The subject of this sketch graduated at Princeton College in 1843. He studied law, was licensed to practice in 1846, and came to the bar in 1849. He was appointed by the Legislature of New Jersey a commissioner to revise the laws of the State. He was subsequently for several years Reporter to the Court of Chancery, and published three volumes of equity reports which bear his name. He was appointed by President Buchanan Minister Resident to Rome, and was recalled at his own request in 1861. He then devoted himself to his profession until 1865, when he was elected a United States Senator from New Jersey. After he had held this position for more than a year his election was declared by the Senate to have been informal, and he was unseated. He was subsequently again elected to the Senate as a Democrat to succeed Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, and took his seat March 4, 1869. He was assigned to the Committees on Appropriations, Naval Affairs, and Ventilation.

Among the early speeches of Mr. Stockton was a brief address against the bill authorizing Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas to submit their Constitutions to a vote of the people, amended by the requirement to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, and he insisted

that by such an enforced ratification that amendment could never become a part of the Constitution of the country. Of the same tenor was his speech pending the bill to promote the reconstruction of Georgia.

In his remarks upon the bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment he discountenanced that measure as unnecessary, and argued that the amendment would enforce itself—that every good citizen would see to its enforcement. At the same time, while he thought it would be wise to pass no act, he would raise no opposition to a fair bill for the purpose specified.

In connection with the consideration of the Legislative Appropriation Bill came the following interesting remarks from Mr. Stockton touching the national capital :

The Senator from California complains that there is not a public square in this city except one which is creditable to show to any stranger, and in saying that he says but the truth ; but why is this so ? It is because gentlemen come here, as he does now, and resist appropriations which are necessary to improve these grounds and make available the large sums already invested.

The city of Washington now contains many magnificent buildings which will compare with the buildings in many of the old capitals of Europe, and it wants nothing in the world but a little proper investment of money at the present time to become an ornament to this country, a city of which we may be proud. We want the streets properly paved. We want this investment not for mere pleasure grounds to recreate in, as has been said in this debate, but for the health of the people ; and in addition to that, in order that all the people of the country may feel that proper pride in the capital of the country that they ought to feel.

Gentlemen make themselves prophets, and predict in a solemn way that this capital must be moved. I know there are men whose policy and whose politics and whose statesmanship consist in moving landmarks. I trust that the Senator from California will not join that party. There is no blessing pronounced on those who move landmarks. I believe in holding on to all the landmarks that our fathers have made, and one of the most sacred of those is the place where they located this capital. . . .

Mr. President, I wish that not only the members of the Legislatures who have passed resolutions in favor of moving the capital, but all the agitators of this movement, could stand on the heights of Arlington and watch the setting sun reflected from the dome of our Capitol. Let them turn their faces to Mecca when they worship ; let them not forget Jerusalem, although they wander in strange lands. Let not strength and manhood forget the parent that cherished its infancy, but rather let all unite in a permanent determination that at least this old landmark shall not be removed.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Sumner, on entering the Forty-first Congress, commenced at the same time his fourth Senatorial term of six years. This consideration, joined with his strong and unyielding firmness in the cause of freedom, and his eminent services in the national councils during nearly a score of the most eventful years of the Republic, gave to him, as a matter of course, a position in the Senate of the United States second to no other statesman of that body.

It was also a matter of course that Mr. Sumner would not fail to grapple with all the prominent subjects and measures occupying the attention of the Senate. He opposed the Bill for repealing the Civil-Tenure Act. In the discussions relating to strengthening the public credit, the currency bill, the franking bill, the appropriation bills, the important questions of Reconstruction, and other subjects relating to the South, which during this Congress engaged so largely the attention of both Houses, he entered with characteristic industry and fidelity. To his various speeches touching these and other topics our limits can afford but very slight allusions. Virginia being under discussion, and Mr. Carpenter insisting that because in the Rebellion the Government of Virginia was destroyed, therefore she ceased to be a member of the Union, Mr. Sumner on the other hand insisted that the people, rather than the Government, constituted the State, and that she never was able to take one foot of her soil or one of her people from the jurisdiction of the nation. To his mind the greatest victory in the late terrible war was not at Appomattox, nor in Sherman's triumphal march; but it was rather that our institutions were henceforth dedicated for ever to human rights, and that "the Declaration of Independence was made a living letter instead of a promise."

A treaty for the annexation of Dominica to the United States having been rejected by the Senate, a joint resolution passed the House and Senate authorizing the appointment of Commissioners by the President to visit the island for the purpose of ascertaining all prominent facts relating to the country and its people. Pending this resolution in the Senate a fierce debate ensued, continuing through the entire night of December 21, and in which Mr. Sum-

ner, who sternly opposed the annexation and the pending resolution, was very severely attacked by several members favorable to the measure. Whatever may be thought of the resolution under discussion, it must be conceded that Mr. Sumner throughout the protracted struggle bore himself with marvelous intrepidity and coolness, as well as with his accustomed force and ability. Mr. Thurman, as he rose to speak near the close of the contest, pointed with tremendous force the Republican assailants of Mr. Sumner to the time when, eighteen years before, the latter stood alone in the United States Senate in his uncompromising hostility to slavery. "He had nobody but himself; and I have lived to see the day when sixty Senators of the Republican party were following in his footsteps with the most implicit obedience. . . . Where then were you who now talk of nothing but freedom? . . . Where were you, Republican Senators, in the year 1852, when the Senator from Massachusetts stood, if not solitary, at least alone? Where were you?"

Mr. Sumner closed his speech on that occasion with the following words:

There is one other consideration, vast in importance and conclusive in character, to which I allude only, and that is all. The island of San Domingo, situated in tropical waters and occupied by another race, never can become a permanent possession of the United States. You may seize it by force of arms, or by diplomacy where a naval squadron does more than the minister; but the enforced jurisdiction cannot endure. Already by a higher statute is that island set apart to the colored race. It is theirs by right of possession; by their sweat and blood mingling with the soil; by tropical position; by its burning sun, and by unalterable laws of climate. Such is the ordinance of nature, which I am not the first to recognize. San Domingo is the earliest of that independent group, destined to occupy the Caribbean Sea, toward which our duty is plain as the Ten Commandments. Kindness, beneficence, assistance, aid, help, protection, all that is implied in good neighborhood, these we must give freely, bountifully; but their independence is as precious to them as is ours to us, and it is placed under the safeguard of natural laws which we cannot violate with impunity. . . .

I conclude as I began. I protest against this resolution as another stage in a drama of blood. I protest against it in the name of Justice, outraged by violence; in the name of Humanity, insulted; in the name of the weak, trodden down; in the name of Peace, imperiled; and in the name of the African race, whose first effort at independence is rudely assailed.

JOHN M. THAYER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Thayer served on the Committees on Military Affairs, Indian Affairs, and Enrolled Bills. He at once moved for the repeal of the Civil Tenure Act, sustaining his motion by one of the most able speeches on that side of the question. He insisted that the law was enacted to meet a particular emergency, and that the country contemplated it as such only—that President Johnson, having abandoned those who elevated him to power, determined to sweep from power and place those who had sustained President Lincoln. Then, and not till then, it occurred to the Senate to originate the Tenure-of-Office Law, and this law having accomplished its purpose ought, as he urged, to be abolished. On the questions of the re-instatement of Virginia, Georgia, and Mississippi, Mr. Thayer, in extended speeches, assumed high ground, and deprecated their complete restoration to the Union without strong guarantees of loyalty and fidelity to the Government of the country. In one of these speeches Mr. Thayer remarked:

We only ask, not indemnity for the past, but security for the future. If these guarantees are complied with, then these States are on a footing with every other State in the Union. But the State that has been guilty of this great crime must submit to some restrictions as to the condition of her restoration. This nation has suffered too much to receive these States back without the proper guarantees against future rebellion and future difficulty. . . . But I do protest against this doctrine that we are perpetrating a wrong or a dishonor upon those States because we require of them pledges that they shall not repeat their criminal deeds. Sir, we have not passed too far away from the rebellion to forget its character; and we have not passed too far off from the scenes through which we passed in the fiery trial to let the thing go by so easily; but it becomes our duty, in dealing with these States, to require every guarantee for their present and future security. . . .

Let reconstruction be radical, sure, complete, perpetual—then the war for the Union will indeed be triumphant. I harbor no bitterness toward the people of Virginia or the people of the South who have been in rebellion. I am actuated by no vindictive feeling toward them. I only ask for equal laws and equal justice and equal protection. We have shown to the people of the South that we were ready to take them by the hand when they met us with a corresponding spirit—when they evinced a disposition to carry out the reconstruction acts and sustain them in good faith we would receive them with generous hearts and forget the past. But until I can see that spirit in the people of Virginia I shall withhold my vote for her admission.

ALLEN G. THURMAN.



ALLEN G. THURMAN was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, November 13, 1813. His paternal ancestors for two hundred years were citizens of Virginia, he being of the sixth generation of his family born in the "Old Dominion." His paternal grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution, serving during the war. His mother was daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Allen, of North Carolina, nephew and adopted son of Joseph Hewes, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who, as Chairman of the Naval Committee during the first years of the Revolution, performed the duties which have since devolved on the Secretary of the Navy.

In 1819 Mr. Thurman removed to Ohio, where he obtained an academic education. He studied law with Senator William Allen and Judge Swayne, now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was admitted to the bar in 1835, and entered at once into a large and successful practice. He immediately took high rank at the bar, where he was brought into competition with lawyers of such ability as Henry Stanbery, Thomas Ewing, and Judge Hunter.

Mr. Thurman never sought, but rather avoided, office. His first office, that of Representative in the Twenty-ninth Congress, was thrust upon him, much against his inclination. He had declined to be a candidate, but when absent from the State he was nominated, and was elected by nearly four hundred majority in a district which had in the previous canvass elected the Whig candidate by a majority almost as large. In the Twenty-ninth Congress Mr. Thurman was a member of the Judiciary Committee, and took an active part in the proceedings, participating prominently in the



A. G. Thorman

debates of the House. He made effective speeches on the Mexican War and the Oregon Question, the subjects of overshadowing importance in that day.

Mr. Thurman declined a re-election, and, at the close of a single term in Congress, returned to the practice of his profession. In the first election under the new Constitution of Ohio in 1851 Mr. Thurman was elected Judge of the Supreme Court, running two thousand votes ahead of his party in the State, and nine hundred ahead in his own county. He was Judge of the Supreme Court four years—during the last two years, from 1854 to 1856, serving as Chief-Justice. In 1867 Mr. Thurman was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio, and lacked less than three thousand votes of being elected, although the Republican majority the year before was forty-three thousand in the State.

The Democratic party having carried the Legislature of Ohio, Mr. Thurman was elected a Senator of the United States to succeed Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, and took his seat March 4, 1869, for the term ending in 1875. He was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the Committee on Post-Offices, and the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment.

Mr. Thurman was at once recognized as one of the strong men of the Senate, and the leader of his party in that body. He is extremely vigilant and faithful—watching with careful eye all the proceedings—a frequent speaker, ready, clear, persistent, and strong in debate; courteous in his bearing, and generally evincing perfect candor and respect toward his opponents and their opinions, while, with a masterly ability, he asserts and advocates his own views.

His first speech in the Senate was on the question of suspending the Civil-Tenure Act, a few days after the opening of the first session of this Congress. In this address his own views of the question are thus set forth:

Now, sir, it does seem to me that it will be regarded throughout the country, if this bill is passed, that the Senate of the United States interprets the Constitution to mean one thing when one man is President, and interprets it to mean another thing when another man is President; and I do most respectfully submit to this body that it is hardly consistent with its dignity, that it is hardly consistent

with the dignity of the Congress of the United States, to pass a law like the tenure-of-office act after great and solemn consideration, and the moment that another President is elected and installed into office to suspend that law and make it a dead-letter. Let this precedent be set, and what will be the value of the claim of the Senate to a concurrence in the power of removal from office? Does not every Senator see that whenever a new party gets into power—and can it be supposed that in a free Government one party will always have power—we are to have a suspension of this act; in other words, that the act is to be enforced when it will have no practical effect, and is not to be enforced when it would have practical effect?

Entertaining these views, Mr. President, and believing that the original interpretation of the Constitution is the correct one, that the power of removal from office is an executive power; that the duty of exercising that power is enjoined upon the President by the provision of the Constitution that he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; believing that the assent of the Senate is not a necessary and logical result from the fact that the Senate consents to appointments; believing that no such inference necessarily follows from the concurrence of the Senate in making appointments; and believing also that it is wiser that it should be as our fathers settled it; that the offices will be better filled and the laws more faithfully executed if this power is vested in the President alone—entertaining these sentiments, I feel bound to vote for an unqualified repeal of the tenure-of-office act.

Mr. Thurman subsequently addressed the Senate in a series of speeches, able and fair exponents of the Democratic views upon all important party questions as well as such as were above any partisan coloring or character. He participated pre-eminently in the discussions relating to the Judiciary, the Currency, the Abolition of the Franking Privilege, questions of Tariff and Taxation, Appropriations, Railroads, the Army and Navy, Pensions, Commerce, etc., while every question relating to Reconstruction attracted his closest attention, and elicited his full share in the numerous debates that were involved. In his speech against the amendment proposed by Mr. Morton, requiring the States of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, as a condition-precedent to representation in Congress, to ratify, by their Legislatures, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, he said:

When you coerce Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas to put this article in the Constitution of the United States, to vote for it as a part of the Constitution of the United States, you do not coerce them alone. You coerce Ohio, you coerce Indiana, you coerce Illinois, you coerce every State whose people are unwilling to adopt the amendment.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Tipton was a member of the Committees on Agriculture, Public Lands, and Pensions. Of measures pertaining to reconstruction he took a somewhat conservative view. In his first speech delivered in this Congress, January 14, 1870, on the admission of Virginia, he declared himself disinclined to impose conditions which he felt added no strength to the Constitution, and could cover no defects in that instrument, nor make up for the probabilities of the loss of the Fifteenth Amendment. In the same speech he thus clearly set forth the remedy against a State for violating the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment:

Predicating my argument upon the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, I think I can see where Virginia would be dealt with under the Constitution for violating the principle of the Fifteenth Amendment. When she shall have gone back upon that proposition, when her members to the House of Representatives shall go there, a portion of the citizens of Virginia by law having been excluded from the privilege of voting, then the House of Representatives, being the judge of the qualification of its own members, would not allow one of those members thus elected to take the oath of office or to become a member, and not the State would be remanded back, but the constituency that had violated a provision of the Constitution in his election. There is where the House of Representatives would deal with the refractory State, and not undertake to remand the State back, but remand back to his constituents every member that had been elected in violation of the Constitution of the United States. And, sir, under the same state of things, when under like circumstances a Senator should present himself here, and it should be ascertained that the Legislature of Virginia that elected him had members in that body in violation of the principles of the amendments of the Constitution, he would be held at arm's length in this Chamber until a properly chosen Legislature of the State of Virginia should elect and send here a Senator in obedience to the Constitution of the United States.

On the subject of the readmission of Mississippi, Mr. Tipton addressed the Senate February 11, 1870. After stating that Mississippi had not only shown her desire to gratify the extreme of radicalism on this question, but had sent here—what Massachusetts and Ohio could not do—a representative of the colored race as a Senator, Mr. Tipton added:

It is a consummation of radicalism run mad to say that you will not trust a people who have thus done every thing, and a little more than some of you de-

sired them to do. I welcome her here on the basis of her radicalism ; I welcome her here on the principles of her constitution ; I welcome here her representatives of both races. I claim that it is an insult to her to talk to her in regard to the probabilities of her going back upon herself, of these men there going back upon themselves. Therefore I would leave in her hands to-day the interests of the State and the destiny of her people, and take her as an ally in the future march for the consummation of all that we have politically desired in this matter, rather than doubt her for one moment when she has done every thing you required her to do, and when in your law you pledged yourselves to her that when she presented herself here, having done that, she should be admitted.

On the 12th of April, 1870, Mr. Tipton made an elaborate speech in the Senate supporting the Georgia bill as modified by "the Bingham amendment," the occasion for which he briefly stated to be that

The Legislature of Georgia have already legislated upon the assumption that they are a Legislature for two years beyond their present term, and consequently, the attention of the members of the House of Representatives being called to it, the Bingham amendment was offered and attached to this bill.

Mr. Tipton then proceeded to set forth his personal relations to the pending question in explicit terms as follows :

What I could do individually to secure a Republican triumph in Georgia any man who knows me understands I would do as heartily as any citizen of the State of Georgia. I desire the triumph of the Republicans of the State of Georgia, and I have rejoiced in the fact that they did triumph at the polls in the election of their State officers and their Legislature ; but, sir, notwithstanding that, I am here the sworn representative of a State, and it is my business to look into the Constitution and to look into the laws ; not to sit here in the attitude of a court of equity for the purpose of doing that which is most agreeable to my own desires in this behalf, but to enforce the law of Congress, and enforce the Constitution, as far as we legitimately may, of the State of Georgia. Within those lines I can perform my duty. Outside of those lines I will perform no duty whatever under an influence either here or from abroad.

But, Mr. President, it is a fact patent to all, no one can deny it, that in the whole course of the debate on this subject, from the time we commenced with the Constitution of Virginia down to the present moment, there has been a distinct attempt on the part of a portion of those who discuss these questions here to arrogate to themselves and to assume for themselves that they *par excellence* are the Republican leaders of this nation ; that they and those who think with them are the Republican party of this country ; and that, therefore, it is absolutely audacious for any man to undertake to stand upon his own individuality and vote upon his convictions of the law and the Constitution. I have nothing to complain of for myself in this regard.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Trumbull still retained the Chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Trumbull, while true to the great interests of the nation, and one of its very ablest statesmen, possesses at the same time a conservative temperament, and, owing to a defect in vision, which often prevents the recognition of acquaintances, has acquired a reputation for coldness and indifference that is no part of his true character. When able to recognize acquaintances, no one meets them with more freedom or cordiality; and to learn subsequently that he has met and passed such without recognition often occasions him deep mortification.

Taking a prominent part in all the great reconstruction measures, Mr. Trumbull was, however, disinclined to what he deemed severe conditions for the restoration of the rebel States. More fully than some other eminent Senators, he was disposed to trust the fidelity of the Southern people on their restoration to the Union. Thus, on the question of recognizing Virginia as entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States without further conditions, he urged that she had complied with the reconstruction acts and had done all she could, and that

By more than two hundred thousand votes she has adopted her Constitution, with only nine thousand against it. The loyal men of the State ask to be admitted, and it is due to these people who have complied with all your requisitions that you should now comply on your part, and at once admit the State to representation in Congress, and to a full participation in all the privileges of this great Government. Sir, I make this appeal in behalf of justice, in behalf of the material interests of the country, in behalf of the loyal men of Virginia, and, as I believe, in behalf of nineteen twentieths of all her people.

With the same general views Mr. Trumbull, a few weeks afterward, pleaded for the reinstatement of Mississippi. Referring to its new Constitution, which had been submitted to the people and ratified by a vote almost unanimous, he insisted that it was in every particular acceptable; that no Senator objected to it; "and," said he, "she now comes here in pursuance of your law, and asks to be admitted to representation in Congress. And what do you propose? Do you propose to admit her? No, sir. You propose

to impose conditions upon her, and for what? Will any Senator tell me what you are to gain by it? what good is to be accomplished by it?"

In the course of his main speech, pending the consideration of the bill for the reinstatement of Georgia, Mr. Trumbull pictured the march of freedom in this country during the last decade. After pointing to the act of 1861, declaring liberty to slaves employed by their masters upon rebel works, and to the act ordering dismissal from the service of every general returning to their rebel masters such slaves as came within our army lines, Mr. Trumbull added:

Then came the abolition of slavery in this district by the payment to the owner of the value of the slave; then came the great confiscation act of July, 1862, which declared that the slave of every rebel that came within our lines, or who was found in a district of country occupied by our troops, should be free; then followed the emancipation proclamation declaring the slaves in certain States and parts of States beyond our lines free; then came the great Constitutional Amendment, declaring that henceforth and forever every person within the jurisdiction of the Republic should be free; then followed the Civil Rights Act, protecting every citizen in the land in his equal rights of person and property; then came the Fourteenth Amendment, securing the rights of freedom and citizenship to every inhabitant of the land; and at last came the Fifteenth Amendment, securing the right of suffrage, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Mr. Trumbull favored the abolition of the Franking Privilege, general amnesty, and civil service reform. A measure introduced by him, authorizing the President to prescribe regulations for admission into the civil service, became a law March 3, 1871.

No prominent question comes up in the Senate that escapes his careful attention, and few are the important discussions of that body in which he fails to participate. An editorial article in "Every Saturday" says:

Since Senator Fessenden's death Mr. Trumbull is the ablest debater of the body. He is hardly to be spoken of as an agreeable speaker, except in that he knows what he wishes to say, and says it clearly. He is solid and intensely practical in all his speeches, wanting in imagination, though when roused there is a certain swing in his vehement periods that captivates in spite of the fact that it is not oratory.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Vickers also addressed the Senate in opposition to the bill to employ the military at elections, and afterward against the bill subsequently introduced to superintend registrations and elections by Federal officers. He spoke against the bill relating to the punishment of offenses in the South by Federal Courts, and the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* by the President, contending that offenses not against the laws or Constitution of the United States were punishable by the States, an exclusive jurisdiction being reserved to them by the Constitution; that the protection of life, liberty, and property was the especial and constitutional duty of the States; that the Constitution of the Federal Government was intended for external objects and operations—such as war, peace, treaties, commerce, and imposts—while all the police and domestic affairs and interests of the States were reserved to them by the Constitution. In February, 1871, Mr. Vickers delivered a speech on the bill to promote commerce among the States. He argued at considerable length, and with a liberal citation of authorities, that the General Government has not the constitutional power to construct railroads through the States, and concluded as follows:

A power so vast, aggressive, and destructive of State rights, sovereignty, and enterprise never would have been left to inference and conjecture by the framers of the Constitution. They were the guardians of State rights and independence, and undertook to enumerate and specify the powers of the Federal Government so that nothing might be left to implication and presumption. They solemnly rejected a proposed grant to make canals, which are instruments of commerce; and if railroads had been known at the time and proposed they would, as similar instruments have been, as signally repudiated. The commentators of the Constitution, its framers, the courts—inferior and supreme—and the ablest jurists and statesmen, have united in declaring that no such power exists. The requisition of the Constitution that ground for forts, arsenals, dockyards, and light-houses shall be purchased of the people of the States, and that their jurisdiction shall extend over all such purchased territory until voluntarily surrendered; the right of eminent domain in the States, and its absence from the Federal Government; the limited authority of the latter, and the reserved and unspecified powers of the former; the peculiar adaptation of such works to State authority and power, and its want of adaptation to the few objects of national jurisdiction, all serve to carry conviction to the unbiased mind and judgment of the thoughtful, the grave, the patriotic, and leave nothing upon which a statesman can hang a doubt of the exclusive power of the States over railroads, turnpikes, and canals.

He generally made diligent and accurate research into authors and papers bearing on constitutional questions, quoting liberally from them. While he was willing to give the Constitution of the United States a fair and liberal construction, according to the intentions of its framers and the objects of its formation, he contended strenuously for the reserved rights of the States, and looked upon their sovereignty and protection against encroachments by the General Government as the only security for constitutional liberty.

Mr. Vickers, although in delicate health for a number of years, prosecuted his studies of the law with assiduity, and after his admission to the bar soon acquired a considerable practice, which rose to be the first in his county. He was incessant and devoted in his attention to business. His rule was never to leave a letter unanswered, and he is said to have written on an average three thousand a year. He was free from the usual follies of youth, and he attributes his success in life to an early and happy marriage, untiring perseverance, moral habits, a Christian faith, and a beneficent Providence. He was elected to the Senate of the United States while at his residence, and without the slightest effort or expectation on his part. All the trusts committed to him were unsolicited, and his rule was that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office.

After several years of effort on the part of the people of Kent County to procure sufficient means to construct a railroad, and after two or three years of suspended efforts by others, he was induced to lend his assistance to resuscitate the subject and effect an object of so much importance to his county. He persevered under much difficulty, was often told that his object was impracticable; but his answer uniformly was—the road was important, the public were able to build it, and what was right and feasible must be accomplished. He, with other aid which he procured, finally succeeded so far that the road has been nearly completed to Chester Town, and is progressing. At the first meeting of the stockholders he was elected President, without solicitation or agency on his part, and he is still President of the Kent County Railroad Company.

WILLARD WARNER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Warner, in the Forty-first Congress, served on the Committees on Finance and Public Lands. His course in the Senate evinced much activity and ability, together with a sincere devotion to the interests of the South. He plead earnestly for the full restoration of the unreconstructed States to their place in the Union, and strongly deprecated any further delay of this great measure. On the question of the admission of Virginia he said, "I am opposed to all motions to refer or postpone the bill. . . . It is because I am thus earnest for the protection and well-being of all the people of Virginia that I am for her admission. It is because I believe her interests will thereby be best protected and preserved."

Pleading for the immediate reinstatement of Mississippi, he repelled the idea that its people were rebels. "Admitting," said he, "that all the people with white skins in the State of Mississippi were rebels, I beg to remind the Senator of Missouri (Mr. Drake) and the Senate that there are a majority of twenty-four thousand voters in the State of Mississippi who are as loyal as he, and that these men, with a large proportion of the loyal white people of that State, have indorsed a constitution broader, more generous, more liberal in its provisions affecting liberty and schools and all matters pertaining to the welfare and rights of the people than that of the State of Missouri."

Again, in his speech for Georgia, alluding to the Southern country generally, Mr. Warren remarked that "while there are many things to deplore in the condition there, while the success has not been as complete and ample as every patriot and every Christian might wish, while there are many things to be corrected, while the temper of the people is different from what you and I would like to have it in many respects, yet I say that upon the whole there is cause for gratulation in the mind of every patriot and every friend of liberty and humanity."

Mr. Warren favored the abolition of the Civil-Tenure Act, and the removal of whatever might impede the free action of the Executive.

WAITMAN T. WILLEY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Willey was on the Committee on Claims, and Chairman of the Committee on Patents and the Patent-Office. In tracing his legislative character, as indicated by his career in this Congress, there is apparent an entire consistency with what has previously been sketched of him. He impresses us as a man of modesty, yet a man of independent mind and thought, and sincerely bent upon pursuing measures the wisest as well as the most patriotic. He seems one of those sober, judicious, and able legislators, in whose hands the interests of the whole country would repose in safety.

On the great questions associated with reconstruction, Mr. Willey favored the restoration of the States yet unreconstructed with as few conditions as possible. He was inclined to look upon some of these conditions-precedent as "a vicious species of legislation," which he feared would, in the sequel, result unhappily. At the same time he was favorable to all appropriate safeguards against future rebellion and mischief.

Pending the Georgia question, he, in one of his speeches on that subject, remarked that "Whatever may be the disorders in that State, the insecurity of life, the insecurity of property, the trampling upon law, the rebellious spirit, and the disorganization that exist there, notwithstanding all these, it is the purpose of the Senate of the United States to pass some law admitting that State to representation. It strikes me, therefore, that if we admit her we ought to admit her, as we do other States, with a warning that unless she abides by the principles of our republican and free institutions we will interfere by the strong arm of the government."

Mr. Willey repelled the insinuation that Senators who favored the appointment of a committee to investigate the disorders of the South were actuated by "sinister motives," and thus closed his earnest and telling speech on the occasion :

All I want is a fair examination into the facts of this case. If they exist, as is alleged, it is high time that the proper authorities of this government should adopt such measures as will prevent a continuation of these outrages and a recurrence of these disorders in the South, and adopt measures which shall secure to our fellow-citizens the perfect enjoyment of life and liberty.

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Williams retained the Chairmanship of the Committee on Private Land Claims, serving also on the Committees on Finance and Public Lands. He participated actively and ably in the extended discussions relating to reconstruction, opposing most of the fundamental conditions so strenuously urged by some other Senators. Such a condition-precedent, however, as the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment he deemed justifiable as well as necessary. Responding to objections to this condition of readmission in the case of Georgia, he remarked :

It may be called coercion or not, as you please. Georgia saw proper, for reasons best known to herself, to engage in a conspiracy for the dissolution of the Union. She withdrew her representation from Congress, and undertook to destroy the government of the United States, and Congress undertakes to say that before she shall resume her representation in these halls she shall comply with certain terms and conditions which, in the judgment of Congress, are necessary for the peace and welfare of the country. That Congress has the power to impose these terms and conditions upon the rebel States is a question that I regard settled forever in this country.

Pending the question of the re-instatement of Virginia, an amendment was submitted forbidding the nullification by that State of its ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, and affirming that such action on the part of the State should operate to exclude it again from representation in Congress. To this amendment Mr. Williams strongly objected, as necessarily implying that a State having once ratified might withdraw its ratification. He affirmed that a State has power to ratify an amendment to the Constitution, but none whatever to rescind such amendment ; and when it has once ratified it has no more power to act upon it afterward than a court would have to reverse its judgment after its jurisdiction over the subject had wholly expired.

The close of this Congress brought also the close of Mr. Williams' service in the Senate, yet before he retired he was appointed a member, on the part of the United States, of the Joint High Commission for adjusting the grave questions pending between this country and Great Britain.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Wilson still retained the chairmanship of the Committee on Military Affairs, a position which he so ably sustained during and since the War of the Rebellion. He also served with the Committees on the Pacific Railroad and Appropriations.

With characteristic energy and good sense he gave in this Congress his efficient counsel and aid in completing the great work of the reconstruction of the rebellious States; and some specimens from his speeches to the Senate in connection with this legislation well represent his style of address and the man himself. Pending the question of the re-instatement of Virginia, and alluding to the reconstruction measures thus far adopted, he said: "I was in favor of doing precisely what we have done; and we have acted, I think, wisely. . . . We reserved all pledges; made none, gave none; never would; always refused to do so; keeping the whole power in our own hands, and legislating when we pleased and as we pleased, and for the good of all; and the reconstruction policy of this Government, when time passes away, and people go back and read it and study it carefully, and understand all its parts, will be understood to be humane, to be just, to be eminently wise, and to have worked out grand results. There is nothing like it in the history of the world. We are told that Virginia is knocking at the door. She went out without knocking, and then she knocked for four years with bayonets to come in. Now, sir, suppose we let her knock two or three days. I do not see what particular harm will be done. Virginia will come in, and come in in good time."

In one of his addresses on the subject of Georgia and its re-instatement, some remarks of the opposition had led Mr. Wilson to glance at the extent of the Ku-Klux outrages that had been perpetrated in the South, and it was inquired why, with all the military power which had been enlisted, these outrages had not been repressed, when he replied: "I will tell the Senator (Thurman) why these things have been. They have been because there is a large class of disorganizing, lawless, revolutionary, and violent men in that portion of the country—men who were demoralized by slavery

and ruined in the rebellion; men of blood, men who have glutted their vengeance upon the men who were true to the country, and upon the poor despised race emancipated by the war. . . . Take the condition of affairs in Louisiana as proved by the Committee of the House of Representatives showing scenes of violence there. In one locality where the Republicans had two thousand voters but one man dared to vote for Grant, and he was murdered within twenty-four hours."

When Mr. Revels, colored Senator elect from Mississippi, presented himself to take the usual oath of office, objections were made by members of the opposition. Mr. Wilson commenced his speech on this occasion as follows :

Mr. President, neither the Senate nor the country will be surprised that nearly three days have been spent in the consideration of the simple question of administering the oath to the Senator elect from Mississippi. Senators upon the other side of the Chamber have avowed their opposition to the administration of that oath. The country will note it; the eight hundred thousand colored voters of the country will remember it; history will record it. We have heard much of dying in the last ditch. Here is that last ditch. This is the last battle. These lamentations, these wailings we now hear, are the notes of the dying swans. Sir, during the last nine years, at all times, on every occasion, we have had the unbroken opposition of the gentlemen who assumed to speak for the Democratic party against every movement made to smite the fetters from the limbs of a race, or to elevate it up to the equal and full rights of citizenship. . . . Even now, when our work is nearly completed, when in a few moments a black member will walk up to your desk, Mr. President, and take the oath of office as a Senator of the United States; when a race has been elevated from chattelhood to all the rights of humanity, we are taunted here by Senators with having acted during the last nine years' struggle as misdirected and frenzied fanatics! Sir, we have been but the poor, hesitating, halting, weak instruments in the hands of Almighty God to strike the fetters from a race, and elevate it, and save the republican institutions of the United States. Every act we have performed for the last ten years will stand the scrutiny of the living present and of the coming future. Here at any time we are ready to meet any body on every one of these acts of ours, some twenty-five or thirty of them, by which emancipation has been secured, and the rights of these people established. We commit it to history, we commit it to the future; and when we have passed away, when you, sir, and all of us shall sleep beneath the sods of our regenerated land, the record will live, and it will shine and gleam immortal in the glorious pages of human history. It will never be blurred or blotted by the race, but will be cherished as are cherished the glories of the Revolutionary fathers.

RICHARD YATES.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Yates, in the Forty-first Congress, served on the Committee on Manufactures and Mines and Mining, and was Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. He favored the abrogation of the Civil-Tenure Act, and in a speech a few days after the opening of the first session of this Congress remarked :

No trial is needed in his (Grant's) case. If we ever find that he turns traitor to his party, as Andrew Johnson did ; if we find that he is unworthy of the trust and confidence of the American people by his acts ; if we find that he goes back upon his brilliant record of a thousand battle-fields of glory and grandeur for the Republic ; if we find that he is not loyal to the Constitution and true to the Government ; if we find that he proves false to the millions who fought in defence of the country ; if we find that he is untrue to the principles for which this war was fought ; then, when General Grant has failed to stand by his country and the Constitution, it will be time enough for an American Congress and an American Senate to attempt to hamper him in the discharge of the duties of his office.

Mr. Yates entered actively into the discussions connected with reconstruction, delivering a number of speeches of much ability, and marked by his characteristic warmth, decision, and eloquence. In the progress of these discussions, and in reference to views advanced by one or two Republican Senators, Mr. Yates was drawn to review somewhat at large the doctrine of State Rights, which he charged with having "filled our land with widows and orphans."

With the end of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Yates's senatorial term expired. Near the close of his term an old college mate having written him a letter asking if he were really the "Dick Yates" who was in the first graduating class in Illinois College at Jacksonville in the good old times of Beecher, Sturtevant, and Turner, the Senator replied :

The sweetest recollections that come to me in the long waste of memory are those of my college days, to which you so beautifully and feelingly allude. The bright hopes and visions of boyhood come back to us after long years, and mingle with every tie and memory of earth and every hope of heaven. Alas ! how different are the realities of life ! Alas ! my friend, happiness finds no home in high position, with all its drudgeries, cares, and responsibilities, however well its possessor may be able, in the providence of God, to discharge the duties it devolves upon him.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

At the opening of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Blaine, by a vote of 135 to 57, was elected Speaker of the House. He was conducted to the Chair by Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Kerr, of Indiana, and the constitutional oath was administered to him by Mr. E. B. Washburne, the senior member of the body. The Speaker addressed the House on the occasion as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I thank you profoundly for the great honor which your votes have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a Chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured, your confidence, your kindly regard, and your generous support.

The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our Government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appropriately symbolizes the triumph of the past and the hopes of the future. The great chieftain whose sword at the head of gallant and victorious armies saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress which so ably represents the loyalty, and patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity, and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

Congratulating you, gentlemen, on the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me.

The ability and impartiality with which Mr. Blaine discharged the difficult duties of Speaker are indicated by the following resolution, which was offered by Mr. Cox, of New York, and passed by the House on the day preceding the final adjournment.

Resolved, In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the Presiding Officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified, and impartial discharge of those duties by Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker therefor.

On the occasion of offering the foregoing resolution Mr. Cox spoke as follows :

Before severing our relations as members of this Congress, it is due to the Speaker that this resolution shall receive no mere formal approval. Gentlemen of the Republican party last night testified their signal appreciation of Mr. Blaine by his unanimous renomination as the Presiding Officer of the next Congress. Their approval, therefore, of this parliamentary eulogy is already an earnest and a foregone conclusion. From the Opposition here, who are too apt to be harshly critical upon the Speaker of the adverse party, this tribute is but generous, just, and fair ; for he has been just, fair, and generous amid our passionate contentions. Such expressions tend to beget and increase that good-will and agreement which is a part of true logic and rhetoric, and is indispensable to the discharge of our duty. . . .

It is because Mr. Blaine has been kind, prompt, able, and honorable, that he has won our regard by contributing to the banishment of bitterness, and the diffusion of good-will, that I have been delegated by our friends on this side to present this resolution. If we cannot have a general amnesty from our legislative action, we can at least, by our parliamentary conduct and liberality, have personal and social amnesties ; and it is in this spirit, I trust, the resolution will have unanimous concurrence.

At the end of the Forty-first Congress Speaker Blaine addressed the House as follows :

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES : Our labors are at an end ; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct.

In a deliberative body of this character the presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and good-will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all the States have been represented on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and triumph ; years of wild destruction, and years of careful rebuilding ; and after all, and as the result of all, the National Government is here to-day united, strong, proud, defiant, and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of peace.

And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation which I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day.

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GEORGE M. ADAMS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Adams served on the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department. He opposed the provision in the tax bill imposing a tax of \$100 upon manufacturers of distilled spirits on the first twenty-five dollars, making no discrimination between the class of large distillers and such as engage in a small way in the business of distilling. Mr. Adams maintained that such want of discrimination was unjust, and in the course of his remarks on the subject made the following remarkable statement :

There are, sir, in the district from which I come, I am safe in saying, at least one thousand stills of small capacity, the owners of which would all readily, and even gladly, pay a tax of twenty dollars for the privilege of making a few barrels of brandy or whisky in the fall and winter months of each year, but who cannot afford to pay one hundred dollars for this purpose. This is not only the case in the district from which I come, but I have it from various other gentlemen on this floor that precisely the same state of case exists in the districts which they represent.

Pending the consideration of the bill reported from the Committee on Indian Affairs for the better protection of the frontiers of Texas, Mr. Adams proposed as an amendment to the bill that the troops of the organization thus provided for should not be employed for any other purpose than the protection of the people of Texas against Indian depredations, and making it an offense punishable with fine and imprisonment for any officer or soldier to interfere with any election, or with the administration of civil affairs in the State of Texas. In his speech advocating this amendment Mr. Adams said :

Aside from the various defects in the details of the bill, one very grave objection, as I conceive, to it is that it provides for the organization of an armed force in each county, and there is no provision of the bill which limits the object for which these troops shall be employed alone to the resistance of Indian depredations. In a country like the State of Texas, where the people have become accustomed to military rule, and where the military authorities have learned to feel that they have a right to control absolutely all the civil and military affairs of the State, I think there is very great danger that an organization such as this would, unless we adopt some such amendment as the one I have offered, prove to be a greater source of annoyance to the people of Texas than the Indian depredations which the bill is intended to prevent.


WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Re-elected to the Forty-first Congress by a majority of over six thousand votes, Mr. Allison was continued on the Committee of Ways and Means, membership of which ranks about equal to the chairmanship of any other Committee of the House. He was also Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, and a member of the Select Committee on the Ninth Census. The most elaborate speech by Mr. Allison during the Forty-first Congress was delivered in the House of Representatives March 24 and 25, 1870, on the bill to amend existing laws relating to the duty on imports. Although recognized as a leader among the revenue reformers, Mr. Allison in this speech took a position not in favor of free trade, for he said, "With the present requirements of the government it cannot be pretended that we can now approach any thing like a system of free trade." He advocated, however, certain reforms in the tariff laws, which were substantially incorporated into the legislation of Congress. He maintained that "reduction should be made on all leading articles, or nearly all." Speaking of two articles, iron and steel, "essential and necessary elements in the progress and development of the country," he "would place both in the hands of the skilled artisan and mechanic as cheaply as possible, taking due care of the full development of our own raw material, so abundant in this country," which he maintained could be "easily done with a greatly reduced tariff." After a long and exhaustive argument he arrived at the conclusion that reduction "being necessary, we should endeavor so to accomplish it as to cheapen commodities, relieve industry from unnecessary burdens, and still raise sufficient revenue to provide for the wants of the Government."

In the autumn of 1870 an attempt was made in certain quarters to get up a "Third Party" movement on the basis of "Revenue Reform." While there were certain reforms in the tariff which Mr. Allison would have been glad to see, he in no degree favored any attempt to organize a new party, remaining thoroughly in sympathy with the Republican party, whose mission he did not deem to have been yet accomplished.

JACOB A. AMBLER.

 JACOB A. AMBLER was born at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 18, 1829. He studied and practiced law in Ohio, and in 1857 was elected to the Ohio State Legislature, serving two terms. In 1859 he was appointed Judge of the 9th Judicial District, continuing upon the bench eight years, when he resumed practice. In 1868 he was elected, as a Republican, a Representative from Ohio to the Forty-first Congress.

On taking his seat Mr. Ambler was placed on the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and one of his principal speeches was pending a joint resolution reported to the House by this Committee, on which the Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts) had previously addressed the House. Mr. Ambler, in commencing his remarks, deplored the unhappy condition of affairs in the Island of Cuba, expressed much sympathy for the Cubans, together with a hope of seeing republican governments established and recognized over the whole American Continent and all adjacent islands. He deprecated, however, any declaration of neutrality by our Government between the contending parties in Cuba, a measure favored by a portion of the Committee and by the joint resolution alluded to. From this position Mr. Ambler strongly dissented:

They assume that the Government should take sides in the struggle, and will not patiently brook opposition to their views. And yet, sir, the action which is proposed by the majority of the Committee is entirely without precedent—nay, is opposed to all precedents from the very beginning of the Government. From the day on which we first achieved our independence until now the policy of the Government has been uniform and consistent, and always the opposite of that now proposed. The idea of a formal declaration of neutrality when one of the parties is not a recognized nation is new to us. I have no knowledge of any such action in the history of this Government, nor indeed of any other Governments, if we except the action of the European Powers in connection with the recent Rebellion of the Southern States.

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(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Archer served again on the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was a member of the Committee on Expenditures in the State Department.

Among the speeches of Mr. Archer in this Congress were those in connection with the Naval Appropriation Bill. In one of these he remarked that "wise statesmanship would tell us to avoid war. 'Perpetual peace is the dream of the wise, war is the history of mankind.' England, since the year 1688, has been engaged in seventy-two years of war, at an average cost of about \$120,000,000 per year, or of \$400 per minute through all that long period. The enormous cost of our own war need not be named to those so familiar with our various public debts. Sooner or later war recurs. Common sense and experience show that we should be prepared to meet it at all points. Had our navy been such as it should have been at the time of the secession of the Southern States the blockade would have been made immediately effective; and when once so made, how quick the deprivation of war material would have destroyed the effective action of the Southern forces. It was mistaken economy that found us at that time with so small a navy. Had there been one that was commensurate with the dignity and wealth of the nation, it would have saved us untold millions of treasure, tens of thousands of vacant firesides, and fatal assaults made upon our Constitution."

In a speech delivered June 2, 1870, Mr. Archer tersely presented his objections to the income tax:

I am in favor of its total abolition—

First. Because it is unconstitutional; but this objection I am satisfied is too trivial to be considered by the dominant party. Experience teaches me that it were useless to dwell upon this.

Second. Because it is unequal. This tax is not levied alone upon those who have more than \$1,000 per year income. I know those who have not \$300 per year who pay an income tax, many of whom are widows and orphans. I mean those who have a small amount invested in bank and other stocks. This income is deducted from their dividends before the bank pays over. On the other hand, I know many having incomes over \$10,000 per year who do not pay one cent. I do not refer to those who make fraudulent returns, but to a class of men whom the Government fears to tax, and exempts.

Third. Because incomes, permanent in their nature, are taxed at the same rate as temporary revenues. A mortgagee's investments remain, but a workman's or professional man's income ceases with his life.

Fourth. Because all commodities bought with revenue from income, houses built, improvements made, etc., pay heavy taxes through the tariff and internal revenue, and then, by this income tax, are burdened with an extra five per cent.

Fifth. Because it is to be kept up for the benefit of manufacturers and high tariff men, who control large bodies of voters, maintaining this burden in order to remove more special taxes from their shoulders.

Sixth. Because it is opposed to the principles of political economy. But, sir, it would be as useless to argue this point with the majority in this House as to argue on the unconstitutionality of the law.

Seventh. Because it is prying and inquisitorial, and offensive in the highest degree in its administration; faults which, notwithstanding all the promises of the gentleman from Ohio, cannot be reformed. A man must, under oath, disclose all the sources of his revenue, even the names and amounts of the very securities from which revenue comes, although that income may be less than \$100 per year, in order that the assessor may be sure that the revenue is not \$1,000 per year. No reduction in the amount of the percentage of impost can cure the abominable evils, which are so great and so annoying that a people would be almost justified in resorting to revolution to end them. These answers are frequently to be given to political or personal enemies, and we all know that the information derived from the responses to queries made under and by virtue of this act are used for the basest and most rascally purposes.

Eighth. Because it maintains a political army, paid by all the people, to sustain and perpetuate the political ascendancy of one party and to keep that party's patronage intact. And because of the existence of this reason I confess I have but little hope of the blotting out of this odious tax while the Republican party remains in power.

Ninth. Because it exposes the poverty of the poor, and hinders and prevents the credit of the honest indigent, and aids the means and designs of the dishonest.

Tenth. Because it enables a political party in power, by its assessors and tax-gatherers, to excuse active partisans and favorites from levy or assessment.

Eleventh. Because it violates the rules of taxation laid down by eminent political economists. I need only recite several short rules from that erudite economist, Adam Smith. He says: "The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not arbitrary." . . .

Twelfth. Because it compels the industrious and thrifty, who save part of their income and invest it in remunerative property, to pay the tax twice, once on the income and then on the interest arising from the income when invested, while the spendthrift pays it but once. In fact, Mr. Speaker, I know of no tax so odious as this. The reduction of the percentage will in no wise relieve us of the odiousness of the tax or the expense of its collection. The true way of taxing capital is to tax the United States bonds held by the rich corporations and wealthy bondholders.



W. H. Armstrong

WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG.



WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG was born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1824. He received a liberal education, graduating at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1847. He studied law, and engaged in the practice of his profession in his native town. In 1860 and 1861 he served in the Pennsylvania Legislature. In 1862 he was tendered a commission as President Judge of the twenty-sixth judicial circuit of Pennsylvania, which he declined.

In 1868 Mr. Armstrong was elected a Representative from Pennsylvania to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 16,760 votes against 14,732 votes for Mackey, who claimed to be a Republican, but was nominated and supported by the Democrats. As a candidate for the succeeding Congress he was beaten by twenty-seven votes.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Armstrong was a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and the Select Committee on the Reorganization of the Civil Service of the Government. He took an active part in legislation, particularly on subjects relating to his committees. Very early in the first session he introduced a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Interior for a statement showing what treaties had been made by the Government of the United States with the Indians, with the date of each treaty, the time of its continuance, and other information important to intelligent and judicious legislation. In the second session Mr. Armstrong introduced a bill to provide for the redemption of not exceeding \$100,000,000 of the interest-bearing loan of the United States, and the issue in exchange therefor of an equivalent amount of notes of circulation without interest.

SAMUEL M. ARNELL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Arnell manifested a deep interest in the cause of education in the South. In one of his brief speeches on this subject he said :

The cause of education must be the cause of the Government ; and the legislators of a great nation, in looking to the interests of the nation, should not forget that our legislation should have respect to the future as well as the present. What I desire to press especially upon attention is the existing state of things at the South making this appropriation necessary. Sir, it is almost wholly without educational facilities or educational organizations. Now, for the first time in its history, free education for all is beginning to make its way, and slowly but surely it is making progress from the Alleghanies even to the waters of the Gulf. I desire to show to the Committee, by a statement which I hold in my hand, the actual condition of things educationally at the South. According to the census of 1860 the number of free persons over the age of twenty unable to read and write in the State of Alabama was 38,000 out of a population of 528,000, and to this is to be added the colored population, all ignorant, of 435,000. In the State of Arkansas the number of free persons over the age of twenty years unable to read and write was 23,000 out of a population of 324,000. In the State of Tennessee the number was 72,000 out of a population of 1,824,000 ; and in Virginia 86,000 out of a population of 1,000,000, to which is to be added a colored population of 190,000. . . . I desire to state to the Committee that at the South there is a population of 9,000,000 to be cared for educationally.

Pending the consideration of the River and Harbor bill, Mr. Arnell remarked as follows touching the Tennessee River : “ This river is one of the most remarkable rivers on the Continent. It is navigable more than one thousand miles, and drains a surface of 42,000 square miles. It binds seven States in its circuit, connecting them all with the great central basin of the Continent. The great obstruction to this river is the Muscle Shoals. Remove this obstruction, and the immense quantities of iron, of copper, of lead, and of marble existing in the countries upon the head waters of the Tennessee can easily be brought to the head waters of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.”

One of Mr. Arnell's last acts in Congress was the delivery of a speech in favor of the bill to establish a system of national education, which he pronounced “ the most important measure that has been introduced into this Congress,” hailing it as “ the omen of a new kind of legislation—legislation on ideas and on reform.”



J. F. Asper

JOEL F. ASPER.

JOEL F. ASPER was born April 20, 1822, in Adams County, Pennsylvania. His ancestors on the father's side were from Germany, and on the mother's side from Switzerland. In 1827 his father removed to the north-eastern part of Ohio, and settled in the woods. During his boyhood, and until his twentieth year, young Asper was devoted to the rough toil of clearing up and cultivating the farm in the wilderness. He was favored with no facilities for education save the common schools, which he attended during the winter months. By subsequent reading and private study, however, he obtained a good education.

When a youth Mr. Asper's mind was turned toward the profession of the law by the stories which he heard at home of the successes of Thaddeus Stevens. His father had lived in the same county with Mr. Stevens, and had sat on juries at Gettysburg, the scene of his early forensic triumphs. He was full of stories of what Mr. Stevens had done for poor people: how he had relieved them again and again from difficulties by his shrewdness as a lawyer. All this tended to inspire young Asper with an ambition to become himself such a great and good lawyer.

In the fall of 1841 he walked to Warren, the county seat, and made arrangements to study in a lawyer's office, at the same time engaging to do menial services in the village tavern to pay his board. Entering upon his studies without a dollar in his pocket, he labored assiduously at work and in study, and soon made much proficiency in the acquisition of his chosen profession. In the office he did whatever duties were assigned him, and often performed important legal services. He sometimes made up cases in bank-

ruptey under the act of 1842, from beginning to end, without assistance, for which his preceptors received large fees. He was admitted to the bar in 1844 by the Supreme Court of the State.

In 1843 he joined a volunteer military company called the "Warren Guards." On the breaking out of the Mexican War Mr. Asper, who had attained the rank of sergeant, in a company meeting proposed a resolution to the effect that they offer their services to the Governor to assist in filling the quota of volunteers called for by the President. The resolution was adopted, but the offer did not reach the Governor until the quota was filled. At the breaking up of the company Mr. Asper was its orderly-sergeant, and the drilling he received was afterward of value to him when he entered the service during the Rebellion.

In October, 1846, Mr. Asper was elected a Justice of the Peace and served three years, giving entire satisfaction in the discharge of the duties of the position. In 1847 he was nominated by the Whig party as a candidate for Prosecuting Attorney for Trumbull County, and was elected by a large majority. Being an active temperance man, he determined to prosecute the sellers of spirituous liquors, and a large number of witnesses were brought before the Grand Jury for that purpose. A great many indictments were found. The entire bar were stirred up to fight the prosecuting attorney. Benjamin F. Wade was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He had been for years before he went on the bench engaged in defending criminals, and his sympathies were on their side; besides, he was a very technical lawyer. The young Prosecuting Attorney could get no help, and had no light beyond that of the ordinary precedents. He searched the records, and found old indictments which had been drawn by Judge Todd and Elisha Whittlesey while they were prosecuting officers, and he followed them. When the cases came up for hearing, the indictments were all quashed by the Judge on the ground that they were not sufficiently certain and specific on the charge, in not setting out the kind and quantity of liquor sold, and the parties to whom it was sold. Mr. Asper went to work again, and after getting up an indictment

which he thought would do he submitted his form to Mr. Stanbery, then Attorney-General of the State, who approved it. This form withstood the assaults of all the lawyers, and on it Mr. Asper convicted many liquor sellers.

On December 15, 1846, Mr. Asper was married to Elizabeth F. Brown, a native of Trumbull County, Ohio. He early began to be a contributor to the local political press. He was for some time editor of the "Western Reserve Chronicle," and subsequently conducted the "Chardon Democrat." He corresponded with the "Cleveland Herald" under the *nom de plume* of "Junius, Jr." He was the Washington correspondent of that paper during the celebrated Banks contest for the Speakership.

During his early political life Mr. Asper was an ardent Whig; but being an avowed antislavery man, he would not support the men or measures of that party when they savored of surrender to the "peculiar institution." He was opposed to the nomination of General Taylor by the Whigs in 1848. He went as a delegate to the Buffalo Convention of 1848, which nominated Van Buren for the Presidency, and was the means of carrying a majority of the Whigs in his county over to the "Free-Soil Party." He assisted materially in bringing about a union of the Whig and Free-soil parties, which resulted in the formation of the Republican party. He supported Mr. Lincoln warmly because of the strong antislavery platform on which he stood.

On the 14th of April, 1861, the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter was received. Two days after, having conferred with the officers and men of the militia company of which he was first lieutenant, Mr. Asper wrote a letter to the Governor offering its services. This was probably the first company which was offered from Northern Ohio. In the organization of the company for the service Mr. Asper was elected captain. Orders were received to march on the 25th of April. They were mustered into the service for three months as "Company II" of the 7th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. The company was mustered in for three years on the 20th of June, 1861, and soon was on the march for West Virginia. Their serv-

ice in that section was severe and arduous, being mostly independent and scouting duty.

While acting as Provost-Marshal of Charleston Captain Asper liberated a slave who came into the Union lines and was taken prisoner. He ordered him liberated under General Butler's idea of "contraband of war," and sent him to the Quartermaster, who paid him for his labor. This was one of the first instances of the application of the new and liberal policy toward the enslaved people.

Captain Asper took an active and important part in the battle of Winchester. He bravely held his ground in the portion of the field occupied by his men after most of the force had retired before the enemy. While so doing he was severely wounded by a minie-rifle ball in the thigh. For his gallant conduct in this action he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. After being disabled by his wounds for several weeks, during which he came near dying, he partially recovered his strength and reported for duty to General Wool at Baltimore. He subsequently led his regiment through the Rappahannock campaign, participating in several engagements. Not being fully recovered from his wounds, he was at length completely prostrated by exposure and hard service. On the 13th of March, 1863, he was honorably discharged "by reason of wounds received in action."

Colonel Asper made application for the position of Provost-Marshal of his Congressional District, under the enrollment law which had recently passed, but Senator Wade desired the place for his nephew, a man who had never been in the service, and the claims of Colonel Asper were disregarded. He went home and opened a law office, giving special attention to the prosecution of pension claims. During the summer he organized a National Guard regiment, under the laws of Ohio, taking it to the State encampment in the fall. On the 8th of May, 1864, it was mustered into the service for one hundred days as the 171st Ohio Regiment, Colonel Asper commanding, and was first assigned to the duty of guarding prisoners on Johnson's Island. On the 9th of June Colonel Asper

was ordered to Covington, Kentucky, to report to General Hobson, and subsequently with his regiment bore the brunt of the battle of Kellar's Bridge, by which the rebels under Morgan were checked in their march upon Cincinnati. Colonel Asper had a horse shot under him. One of the rebel officers afterward stated that he ordered three volleys fired at the large officer on horseback—referring to Colonel Asper—but he was not hit. Public meetings were held in Covington and elsewhere, in which General Hobson and Colonel Asper were thanked in person and by name for the fight which all conceded saved Covington and Cincinnati.

Returning home at the close of his service of one hundred days, Colonel Asper carried out a purpose which he had some time previously formed, and made preparations for immediate removal to the State of Missouri. In December, 1864, he took up his residence in Chillicothe, Missouri, where he opened a law office and immediately entered upon a profitable business. His practice extended over two judicial circuits, embracing a large number of important cases, in which he was almost invariably successful.

Soon after settling in Chillicothe Mr. Asper established a weekly Republican newspaper called the "Spectator," to which he gave editorial supervision without neglecting his professional business. The paper attained much influence and was very successful. Mr. Asper issued as an editorial in this paper the first political article published in Missouri taking ground in favor of negro suffrage. He was a delegate to the Chicago National Convention which nominated General Grant, and, as a member of the State Convention, he secured the adoption of a suffrage amendment in the platform.

In August, 1868, he was nominated for Congress by the Republican Convention of the Seventh Congressional District, and was elected by over seven thousand majority. Taking his seat as a Representative in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Asper was appointed to the Committee on Military Affairs. He took an active part in the proceedings, making able speeches on the "Increase of Banking Currency," the "Tariff," "Revenue Reform," and other important subjects of legislation.

DAVID ATWOOD.



DAVID ATWOOD was born in Bedford, New Hampshire, December 15, 1815. His early history is like that of all the sturdy New England boys who spent their summers in working on their fathers' farms, and their winters in attending the district schools. This course of life until he was sixteen years of age developed and strengthened him, and firmly fixed those habits of industry and frugality which assured his subsequent success. In 1832, in his sixteenth year, he accompanied an elder brother to Hamilton, Madison County, New York, where he commenced work at a printer's case. He remained there five years, and became master of his craft before returning home. After this he traveled through Pennsylvania, the South, and the West for nearly three years. He visited every place of note in Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and every organized county in Indiana. He returned to Hamilton in 1839, when, with his brother, he undertook the publication of the "Hamilton Palladium," a weekly newspaper. He worked hard for five years, through the Harrison campaign and the presidential contest of 1844, in which he was a zealous supporter of Henry Clay. While in Hamilton he received from Governor Seward a commission as Major in a militia regiment commanded by Colonel James W. Nye, now United States Senator from Nevada. On the promotion of the latter Major Atwood was commissioned Colonel of the regiment. He commanded the regiment two years, and had those regular encampments, drills, and "general trainings" so well remembered by New Yorkers of that day as the great event of the year.

Overworked and broken in health by the hard-fought political campaign of 1844, Mr. Atwood again set his face to the westward.



David Stoddard

Having purchased a farm near Freeport, Ill., he spent two years in agricultural pursuits, when, having fully regained his health, he sold out, and determined again to engage in editorial labors. He established himself in the capital of Wisconsin, in connection with the "Madison Express," of which he was for some time, to use his own words in a History of the Dane County Press, "editor, foreman, compositor, and all hands." He reported the proceedings of the last two sessions of the Territorial Legislature convened at Madison, and the entire proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. He became proprietor of the "Express" in 1848, having previously edited it for more than a year. At this time three of the twelve or fifteen newspapers in the State were published in Madison. Opposed to the "Express" were two Democratic newspapers, conducted by men of ability, who had, in addition to plenty of capital, the entire patronage of the State to aid them.

In the fall of 1851 Hon. L. J. Farwell, a Whig, was elected Governor of the State. It did not, however, add anything to the business of the "Express" office, because the Legislature and all other departments of the government remained in the hands of the Democrats. As a compliment to the man who had labored so long and faithfully for the Whig cause, Governor Farwell appointed the editor of the "Express" Quartermaster-General of the State. General Atwood, now that he saw his party gaining strength, found a new embarrassment in a rival Whig paper. Through the interposition of friends, however, both sheets were consolidated; but the new publication expired in eleven weeks. This would have disheartened most men; but it only gave renewed strength to General Atwood. He immediately started for New York, bought a complete outfit for a new office, and returning to Madison, on the 28th of September, 1852, issued the first number of the "Daily State Journal," which he has published ever since.

About a year after the "Journal" was established Mr. Atwood associated with himself in the conduct of the paper the Hon. Horace Rublee, now Minister-Resident of the United States in Switzerland, a man of great intellectual power and fine culture. The

"Journal" took a leading position, became firmly established, and has been constantly increasing its area of usefulness.

Mr. Atwood was one of the leading spirits in the organization of the Republican party in Wisconsin seventeen years ago, was a member of the committee that drafted the first Republican platform, and was appointed Clerk of the first Republican Assembly in the State. In 1858 he was commissioned Major-General of the Fifth Division of the State Militia. In 1860 he was chosen a member of the Legislature, and was elected Speaker *pro tem.* of the Assembly. When the office of U. S. Assessor was first created he was appointed to that position, and held the office until removed by President Johnson. He was chosen Mayor of Madison in 1868. Mr. Atwood has constantly manifested an active interest in the material prosperity of the West. At the first Convention which met to consider the question of the improvement of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, General Atwood had been so closely identified with the project that he was chosen Chairman of the temporary organization. On taking the chair, he made a speech on the importance of having a great canal, or an improved navigable river channel, connecting the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien with Lake Michigan at Green Bay.

In 1869 his friends urged upon the party the propriety of selecting Mr. Atwood as candidate for Governor. At the Republican State Convention in September of that year, on the first ballot taken to nominate a candidate for Governor he received fifty-three votes, including a large majority of those from his own Congressional District. A very flattering compliment, when it is remembered that there were seven candidates for State officers in the District whose chances would have been injured or destroyed by his nomination.

On the death of Hon. Benjamin F. Hopkins, January 1, 1870, the Governor ordered a special election for Representative in Congress, and Mr. Atwood was nominated to fill the vacancy. His political opponents paid him the unusual compliment of declining to nominate a candidate against him. He was elected on the 15th

of February, 1870, and took his seat on the 23d of the same month. During that long and laborious session, which lasted nearly six months, he devoted himself assiduously to his duties, on the floor, in the committee-rooms, and at the various executive departments of the government, in behalf of those seeking assistance or information. Bills of great importance to the North-west and to Wisconsin, in which he was deeply interested, were passed after he entered the House. Among others were the Northern Pacific Railway bill, to render the land grant available and thus insure the construction of the line; the act in relation to the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, for completing the navigable water channel from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan; and the act dividing Wisconsin into two Judicial Districts, providing for the appointment of a Judge, and for holding terms of court in four places instead of two.

Mr. Atwood has been called by an old editor "the Benjamin Franklin of the Wisconsin press." To those who know him thoroughly he presents the same strong traits of character, the same practical cast of mind, and that mastery of himself and the subject in hand that Franklin did. Mr. Atwood's prosperity is the fruit of his own labor. He has toiled hard, without being warped by his work; he has secured a competency, without relaxing the diligence with which it was acquired; he has been honored with position, without forgetting less prosperous days.

This sketch cannot be more appropriately closed than by quoting a few sentences from the pen of the late Thurlow Weed Brown, the celebrated temperance orator and writer. In describing the men who passed in procession on some public occasion in Madison, about ten years ago, he said: "A medium-sized man, gray hair and beard, erect and martial bearing—another general and editor. His eye is mild; countenance pleasant; manners easy and refined; is a fine specimen of the genus gentleman, and is most loved and respected by those who know him best. He is unassuming, yet twenty carats fine in all that is generous and noble. He is a man to trust—General Atwood, of the 'Journal.'"

SAMUEL B. AXTELL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Axtell in the Forty-first Congress was assigned to the Committees on the Pacific Railroad and Agriculture. Early in this Congress he took a firm stand against all Indian treaties, deeming them but a fraud and a farce. He would treat the Indians as wards of the Government, protecting and caring for them, but would withhold all money for carrying out pretended treaties. He also disapproved the system of Indian Reservations, and denounced them, so far as his own State was concerned, an "unmitigated nuisance." Mr. Axtell opposed the Utah Bill as too harsh and severe, and tending to war; and while he denounced the practice of polygamy as existing there, he saw notwithstanding much that was good in the Mormon city and community.

On the Tariff Mr. Axtell adopted views in harmony with what he contended to be the platform of Democracy—favoring such "equal taxation as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon the great industrial interests of the country."

The several speeches of Mr. Axtell in connection with Reconstruction were also in harmony with the Democratic views expressed at length on the floor of the House and Senate.

Pending the consideration of the Naturalization Bill, Mr. Axtell demurred at the three years of time required in the bill. "This," said he, "is all wrong; one year is abundant. Our true policy is to introduce measures of encouragement. We desire that Europeans residing in our country should become citizens—not more for their good than our own. We are all of the same tribes and families." But he opposed an open door for all nations of the earth, including Hindoos, Chinese, Mongols, Africans, and the Pacific Islanders. He deemed this a mistake in the bill—a "vagary which would never have been thought of but for the accident of American slavery. The condition of the American Negro is anomalous. He is here by our own wrong, and must be endured as one of those punishments which descend from fathers to children. But because we are compelled to endure him, it does not follow that we must also incorporate into our family the cannibal of the South Seas. . . ."



Richard H. Jew

RICHARD S. AYER.

RICHARD S. AYER was born in Waldo County, Maine, October 9, 1829. He received that common-school education which is so freely and so universally bestowed upon the children of New England, and which, with the excellent moral training they receive at home, makes them inestimably valuable citizens of any State where they may afterward make their residence. With a versatility not uncommon in New England, Mr. Ayer applied himself successfully to both agricultural and mercantile pursuits. The emergencies of the country, however, called him away from his quiet pursuits, and, urged by the impulse which pervaded hundreds of thousands of manly hearts throughout the North, Mr. Ayer enlisted as a private in the 4th Maine Volunteers, and was promoted to a captaincy. His first experience of the stern realities of war was gained at the disastrous first battle of Bull Run. He subsequently participated in the battles of Seven Pines and Malvern Hill.

At the close of his three years' term of service, Mr. Ayer seeing in Virginia some natural advantages over his native State, determined to make it his home. Going into the Old Dominion with the purpose of remaining, he at once concerned himself actively in whatever related to the material, social, and political prosperity of his adopted State. He gave his influence actively to promote the reconstruction of the State, and in 1867 he was elected a Delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention. He was elected a Representative from Virginia to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and was admitted to his seat January 31, 1870. He served on the Committee on Claims. He found but little opportunity during the fragmentary term of his service for prominent participation in the proceedings. He made no speeches.

ALEXANDER H. BAILEY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Bailey served on the Committees on Indian Affairs, Freedmen's Affairs, and Expenditures in the State Department. He is to be classed among the silent members of the House, making but a single brief speech during this entire Congress. Pending the resolution to print extra copies of the report of David A. Wells, Commissioner of the Internal Revenue, there was a spirited discussion, in which the "revenue reformers" advocated the resolution, and the "tariff men" opposed it. During this debate Mr. Bailey made the following speech :

" I have nothing to say about the tariff, either for protection or against protection, and yet I hope the House will not print these extra copies of this report. As has been said by gentlemen who have preceded me, it has already been published through the newspapers all over the land. I believe all the essential parts of it have been published and spread before tens of thousands of people, before a much larger number of persons than the number which we should print now would furnish. Why, then, should we be asked to print these extra copies? What earthly good shall we accomplish by it? The thing has been published. It has been published through the newspapers of the country and otherwise. What will these twelve thousand copies amount to except as a job in the printing office? How far will that number go? To how many persons in his district can each member give a copy? Is this giving light to the community?

" Sir, I hope the House will stop this whole business of the publication of documents, I mean of extra numbers for distribution. I do not speak of this particular case because I am opposed to the report; I do not say I am; but I am utterly opposed to the further publication of these extra numbers of any paper whatever, and here is an excellent opportunity to stop it."

Mr. Bailey was not a candidate for re-election, and at the close of his second term in Congress retired to private life, preferring the quiet routine of professional pursuits to the excitement and turmoil of public position in the capital.

NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)


Mr. Banks, in the Forty-first Congress, besides retaining the Chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, served also on the Committee on the Rules and the Select Committee on the Ninth Census. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he presented from that Committee a voluminous report relating to the difficulties in Cuba, accompanied with a series of resolutions the object of which was declared to be,

1. To secure the recognition of an existing armed contest for liberty in Cuba;
2. The neutrality of the United States in that contest;
3. To place the Cubans upon an equal footing with the Spaniards with regard to intercourse and trade with the United States;
4. To interpose the protest of the United States against the barbarous manner in which the war has been conducted.

In his speech on the depressed condition of American commerce, Mr. Banks, after alluding to its former prosperity, presented the following somber picture of some of the causes operating to produce so great a reverse of this important interest :

But now the condition of public affairs is greatly changed. This is not to be charged as the special fault of anybody ; it is the result, natural, and almost inevitable, of the great events in which we have participated. Our debt is large, our taxes are heavy, the system of import duties is necessarily burdensome upon trade, business is depressed, confidence is impaired, and our relations with other countries not as pleasant as we could wish. We have a difference with Russia growing out of treaty stipulations of which she complains, which leads her to contemplate what she calls retaliation. There is an unpleasant consequential embarrassment between us and Austria growing out of the failure of her invasion of Mexico during our rebellion and its disastrous consequences to one of the members of the imperial family. We have, for reasons of our own, discontinued diplomatic relations with Rome. We have a postal controversy with France. Denmark has an unsettled controversy with us which seriously affects her relations with us, if it does not touch her honor as a nation and lead to other embarrassments hereafter. The Governor of the Sandwich Islands complains that a treaty entered into with him more than three years since is not only unsettled, but has never been respectfully considered. There is pending with San Domingo a question of a similar character. With the South American Republics our relations are not those of permanent peace. Brazil complains of our policy, as we did of hers during her war with Paraguay. Our unhappy controversy with the latter Government is fresh in the recollection of every member of the House. . . . We have international controversies with Spain that cannot be lightly regarded nor easily settled. . . . Of our unhappy controversy with Great Britain it is unnecessary to speak. No one can refer to it without apprehension, or recall the occasion of it without indignation and sorrow. Such considerations, of themselves, show the impossibility of an extensive and prosperous commerce with foreign States.

HENRY W. BARRY:

ENRY W. BARRY is a native of Schoharie County, New York. Not having enjoyed in early life the usual facilities for acquiring an education, he supplied the deficiency at a later period by close application in private study. His efforts resulted in literary attainments which enabled him to take high rank as a professional teacher. After several previous engagements in educational institutions he was appointed Principal of Locust Grove Academy in Kentucky. He had just closed his second academic year in this institution at the outbreak of the Rebellion.

Mr. Barry at once enlisted as a private in a corps which was afterward consolidated with the Tenth Regiment of Kentucky Infantry. Within thirty days of his enlistment he was made Second Lieutenant, and shortly after First Lieutenant, of Company II, which he commanded. The regiment having been assigned to the Army of the Cumberland under General Buell, Lieutenant Barry was sent with his company upon an important and dangerous detached service, in which the whole party was surrounded and captured on the 25th of July, 1862. In testimony of his gallantry in resisting capture the rebel commander restored his saber, and permitted him to send it to his brother in Louisville by the hands of his Second Sergeant, who, with the other non-commissioned officers and privates, was paroled. The officers were retained as prisoners, and sent to Tupelo, Mississippi, then in command of the Confederate General Price. Shortly afterward Lieutenant Barry was sent to Columbus, where he now resides. After remaining here for some time he was sent to Richmond, to be exchanged under a cartel that had been effected; but the order was countermanded,



H. W. Barry

and he was sent to Jackson, Mississippi, where he remained until his exchange the ensuing autumn. During his imprisonment in Mississippi he carefully used his opportunities of observation in studying the local character and resources of the country, obtaining information of great value in his subsequent career in that State.

After his exchange he remained for a short time on the staff of General Boyle, commanding at Louisville. On the 1st of April, 1864, he appeared before the Board of Officers, of which General Casey was President, which had been convened at Washington for the examination of officers for colored troops. His examination was so satisfactory that he was on the 7th of May, 1864, commissioned a Colonel of Artillery, and ordered to Paducah, Kentucky, to superintend the organization of colored troops in that quarter. He was subsequently assigned to the command of that important post. In the higher administrative duties thus devolving upon him Colonel Barry developed a capacity and a promptness which attracted attention in high quarters. He was continued at this post until April 7, 1865, when with the troops under his command he was ordered to Washington, and afterward sent by sea from City Point, on the James River, to Indianola, Texas. Landing at the latter point, he found himself in command of the First Brigade, Second Division, Twenty-fifth Army Corps. Thence he was sent to command the troops in and around Victoria, Texas, where he remained till February, 1866, when he, with his entire command, was sent to Louisville to be mustered out. During his later military career he was brevetted first Brigadier-General and then Major-General for gallant and meritorious conduct.

After leaving the army he established his residence at Columbus, Mississippi, the place of his former imprisonment, but spent a portion of his time at Washington, District of Columbia, where, in 1867, he graduated with honor in the Columbia College Law School. He then commenced the practice of the law in Columbus, engaging actively in the political canvass in behalf of the reconstruction policy of Congress. In 1867 he was elected a member

of the Constitutional Convention of Mississippi. At the meeting of this body in January, 1868, Mr. Barry's abilities and weight of character caused him to be recognized by both friend and foe as a leader in the great work of political and social reconstruction. As Chairman of the Committee on Legislation, the most important position in the Convention, he sustained himself to the entire satisfaction of the loyal people, and brought upon him the especial hatred of the rebels. The Ku-Klux not only exhausted their resources of billingsgate in traducing his character, but attempted to take his life. His right arm was broken by the pistol-shot of an assassin.

In June, 1868, he was elected to the Senate of Mississippi, but before the assembling of the Legislature his election to Congress vacated his place in that body. In November, 1868, he was designated a member of the Committee of Sixteen dispatched by the Republican Convention of Mississippi to urge upon Congress the restoration of the State under its new Constitution to its lost privileges in the Union.

In 1869 Mr. Barry was elected to represent the Third Mississippi Congressional District for the unexpired term of the Forty-first and for the entire term of the Forty-second Congress, receiving a majority of 3,193 over two competitors. Admitted to his seat in the Forty-first Congress April 8, 1870, Mr. Barry was appointed on the Committee on Elections. He warmly supported, both by votes and speeches, the reconstruction policy of Congress, believing it to be the only solution of the political and social problem of the South.

Mr. Barry's first speech in the House, delivered December 15, 1870, was on "the bill for full and general grace, amnesty, and oblivion of all wrongful acts, doings, or omissions of all persons engaged in the war of the late rebellion." He regarded the provisions of the bill excepting from its operation men who occupied government positions before the war as an invidious distinction, from the fact that Representatives in Congress and other officials from the South who went into the Rebellion simply obeyed the will of their constituents, the Southern people.

FERNANDO C. BEAMAN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Beaman was reappointed to the Committees on Appropriations and Reconstruction. As a member of the former Committee Mr. Beaman opposed the Fortification Appropriation Bill, believing that for the present there was no necessity for such a bill. Said he: "We have talked, sir, a great deal about economy. We have been trying to find some place where we could save appropriations. Within the whole range of objects I do not believe there is a more appropriate place to save a million of dollars than we have in connection with this bill. I would submit to the consideration of the Committee that there is no necessity whatever for one cent being appropriated for the purpose of preserving these forts. They will suffer no damage whatever if there is no appropriation made this year. For the last two years we have made no appropriations for fortifications except a small contingent fund of \$200,000; and if a similar appropriation this year be necessary or desirable we can put it in the Army Appropriation Bill."

Mr. Beaman opposed an appropriation of \$94,087 for the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. "I think the country will be surprised," he said, "when it comes to understand the nature and amount of the expenditures we have been making for this institution. Why, sir, the University of the State of Michigan is a large institution, accommodating one thousand one hundred and twelve students; yet the entire cost of the buildings was \$200,000; and until within a year the entire expense of running the institution has been but \$70,000 annually, and at this time it is only \$85,000. I might also refer to the Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind in the State of Michigan. That institution has one hundred and forty pupils, and the entire cost of running it is \$37,500 a year, and the cost of the buildings was but \$235,000. I am not prepared to state precisely what this institution in the District of Columbia has thus far cost us; but I think the expenditures must amount to over \$400,000."

From remarks of General Butler in response, it appeared the expenditures had been \$1,100,000 instead of \$400,000.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Beatty served on the Committee on Education and Labor, and was Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and the Joint Committee on Enrolled Bills. On the resolution accepting the statue of Major-General Greene, Mr. Beatty made the following speech :

Mr. Speaker, I rise to thank the people of Rhode Island for the gift which they have so appropriately and generously presented to the country. The value of that gift, sir, cannot be estimated by figures or represented by words. The cost of the marble, the incomparable skill of the artist in the execution of the work, are no slight indication even of its inestimable value. It is a monument to those sterling qualities of mind and heart which elevate men to a forgetfulness of self, and render them only mindful of the well-being of their fellow-men. It is a monument to that devotion to principle and that faith in the ultimate triumph of the right which impel men to abandon the quiet of home, the delightful companionship of wife and children, the pleasant paths of peace, and sustain them amid privations, dangers, and disasters.

The statue of General Nathaniel Greene, standing as it does to-day in the most conspicuous place on the American continent, will be to the youth of this Republic a perpetual reminder of what one resolved heart can do in the furtherance of a righteous cause. The honest, manly soul, staggering under difficulties, overwhelmed it may be with adversity, will turn from the contemplation of this beautiful effigy with new inspiration and renewed courage. He will be reminded that the man to whose honor it has been raised was poor, was cruelly maligned, was surrounded by difficulties, was encompassed by dangers, was overwhelmed time and again with defeat, and yet, thank God! was never conquered. His fervent zeal, his indomitable energy, his unswerving patriotism, his broad, comprehensive, common sense and magnificent heroism, sustained and carried him triumphantly through all, and thus won for him not only the gratitude of his own countrymen, but the admiration of the world.

By raising statues we cannot hope to benefit the dead, but we may hope thus to elevate the living; and that beautiful marble, which presents to us the face and form of a hero, by teaching the youth of our land the honor due to freedom's champions, by inculcating respect for the homely, manly virtues of self-denial, firmness, patriotism, perseverance, and fortitude, may through succeeding generations raise up many sturdy patriots to defend the Republic and save it from dishonor. When falsehood, selfishness, and every variety of meanness, bedecked with golden trappings, stalk abroad unrebuked, teaching the sorry lesson that honor is nothing and wealth is every thing, it is well for a State to hew out of solid marble the true standard of manliness and set it up as an enduring rebuke to this sordid spirit, and an encouragement to those who would rise above it to a plane of truer manhood and nobler usefulness.

As we look upon this statue our thoughts revert to the commencement of our history as a nation, when the fate of a great enterprise, involving the fortunes of untold millions, was still enveloped in darkness. God only foresaw the end.

Nathaniel Greene had faith, and, buoyed by that knightly sentiment which affirms that in a just cause success or failure is alike glorious, he pushed forward with a courage that grew on defeat, a perseverance that increased with disaster, a determination that would succeed or "die in the attempt." What he labored and suffered to attain we are so fortunate as to live to enjoy, and our hearts, I hope, and the hearts of all good men, I feel assured, go back to him and his compatriots, rejoicing over that courage and wisdom and rugged self-denial which secured to a great people such manifold benefits, and to a nation so grand a destiny.

"Praise to the valiant dead! For them doth art
Exhaust her skill their triumphs bodying forth;
Theirs are enshrined names, and every heart
Shall bear the blazoned impress of their worth.
Bright on the dreams of youth their fame shall rise;
Their fields of fight shall epic song record;
And when the voice of battle rends the skies,
Their name shall be their country's rallying word."

On the 6th of June, 1870, Mr. Beatty made a speech on land grants to railroads, wherein he fully defines his position on this important subject in the outset:

Mr. Speaker, we have many bills before us asking for grants of the public lands to aid in the construction of railroads, and others demanding similar grants for other projects, and I take this opportunity to express my hostility to them all, and to enter my protest against the further disposal of a single acre of the public lands except for purposes of actual settlement and cultivation. If there are enterprises which should be aided, or internal improvements which should be encouraged and assisted by the Government, I would prefer to render that assistance in something the value of which we appreciate, and not in lands of whose value this Congress has in my opinion no just conception.

To those who come here from the embellished farms and elegant homes of New England, the cultivated fields of Ohio, or the verdant prairies of the western States, now fragrant with blossoms, the long stretches of unbroken prairie and tangled wilderness of the far West may appear to be utterly worthless, and this idea is supported in some degree by the fact that the Government offers these lands for an insignificant sum per acre, and few men are now attracted thither; but I beg gentlemen to consider that it does not by any means follow that these lands are valueless because the nation at this period of her growth does not need them, or because her citizens are not eager to accept them at the paltry price asked by the Government. The life of man is said to be three-score years and ten; the life of a nation is measured by centuries.

The wise man does not, in imitation of Esau, sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, or throw it away because he cannot in a day realize, consume, or enjoy it all. On the contrary he economizes, and thus makes ample provision for an increasing family. A nation should do the same.

JAMES B. BECK.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Beck was continued on the Select Committee on Reconstruction, serving also on the Select Committee on Postal Telegraph Lines. His several speeches on Reconstruction in this Congress were in harmony with those on the same subject in the preceding Congress, and display marked ability. It is observable that in these addresses, while he, with his party generally, considered the Reconstruction measures unconstitutional, he was, however, disposed to recognize them, and to contest only certain issues connected with and springing from them.

Mr. Beck's speech on "Expenditure, Tariff, Bonds," etc., presents the somber view which, from his political stand-point, he might be expected to entertain. He sees burdens crushing down all the great agricultural and producing interests of the country. Fraud, corruption, and general demoralization have taken possession of the Government and its officials, and honesty, capacity, and frugality have given place to party servility and selfish division of the spoils. Every department of the Government swarms with adherents and retainers of prominent politicians. Various and multitudinous jobs are concocted for enabling favorites to get rich, the taxpayers of the country having to foot the bills. The most adroit subterfuges are resorted to in order to transfer the money of the people into the pockets of the officials and their retainers, and time would fail to tell of a tithe of the corruptions that are practiced. Such was the burden of his elaborate effort of January 22, 1870, which he concluded by saying "that the corruptions of this Government have assumed such magnitude that this Congress will be guilty of criminal complicity if it fails to pass such laws as will end them." The speech of Mr. Beck on the Appropriation bill is harmonious with the above :

I feel warranted by the facts in asserting that every pledge made and every assurance given by the dominant party of economy, honesty, and frugality have been utterly disregarded, and that not only has there been no diminution of the admitted wasteful and corrupt expenditure of former years, but the year which closed on the 30th of June last exceeds, in every element of wasteful expenditure, that which preceded it, while the demands for the current fiscal year, just begun, not only give no promise of improvement, but prove the reverse.

JOHN F. BENJAMIN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Benjamin in the Forty-first Congress was assigned to the Committee on Expenditures in the Post-Office Department, and again served as Chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

In a discussion on one of the early days of this Congress concerning vessels, etc., impressed into service in time of the war, Mr. Benjamin presented a case illustrating the difficulty of securing indemnity from the Government for losses and damages incurred in its service, as follows :

I have in my desk here the claim, not a very large one, of a gentleman who was a soldier in the Federal Army, and while marching in the ranks, and defending the flag of his country, he had the satisfaction of seeing that portion of the army to which he was attached encamped upon his premises; and while encamped there they took the last bushel of grain he had upon the face of the earth, the last pound of meat that he had, and the last stack of hay that he had, leaving him nothing for the subsistence of his family or of his stock. The quartermaster gave him a receipt for it, but, failing to report it upon his muster report, as it was his duty to do, he was told at the Department that there was no law that authorized payment in cases of that kind, and hence he got nothing. There are hundreds of such cases as that not only in Missouri, but all over the country where the Federal Army marched.

In a brief speech on the Funding Bill Mr. Benjamin remarked as follows on a subject of considerable interest :

Now, sir, what are the facts? We all know that for seven years or more the East has enjoyed a monopoly of banking. Since the war the South and West have been here besieging this capital for the redistribution of the currency, in order that they may enjoy some of the benefits of the national banking system. It has been refused session after session until within the last week, when an act passed this House and passed the Senate for the issue of \$54,000,000 in addition to the present banking currency of the country, and for the redistribution, eventually, of \$25,000,000 more. That act was approved by the President but yesterday. We of the West and the South flattered ourselves that at last tardy justice had been done to us, and we would be able from henceforth to enter upon that field on a par with our more fortunate friends in the East. But, sir, before the ink is dry with which the President placed his signature on that act, here comes in a proposition saying to us that we may have that banking circulation, but that we will be compelled to take a bond as a basis of that banking bearing an interest of one per cent. at least lower than that held by the banks in the East. To that extent it is a direct discrimination against our banks in the South and West of one per cent., and perhaps two per cent.

Having served six years in the House of Representatives, at the close of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Benjamin retired to private life.

DAVID S. BENNETT.



DAVID S. BENNETT was born in Camillus, Onondaga County, New York. He has for years been prominent as an extensive grain merchant, elevator and vessel proprietor in Buffalo, having removed from Onondaga County in 1852. He became prominent before the public in the early part of the war, contributing largely both in time and money for the raising of troops and other patriotic purposes. He was elected to represent Erie County in the Senate of New York for the years 1865 and 1866 by the Republican party, and was elected to represent the 30th District of New York in the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, leading his opponent, Judge Verplanck, Democrat, by a vote of 16,004 against 14,293, a greater change in favor of the Republican party having been made in that district than in any other in the United States, Erie County being generally conceded a Democratic district.

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Bennett served on the Committees on Commerce and Expenditures in the Interior Department. He introduced a bill "to provide for the better protection of the northern and northwestern frontier, to facilitate commerce, and to diminish the expenses of the exchanges between States," appropriating \$15,000,000 to be applied to the payment of the canal debt of the State of New York and the enlargement of the Erie and Oswego Canals.

In an elaborate speech supporting this measure Mr. Bennett set forth in glowing terms the relations of the Erie Canal to the country as a national highway, largely instrumental in the amazing growth of the great Northwest within the past fifty years. He argued that the Government should make the appropriation not only in the interests of commerce, but as a means of national defense.



J. B. Smith

JACOB BENTON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Benton was assigned to the Committees on Agriculture and Invalid Pensions, and was continued on the Joint Committee on Retrenchment. Early in the first session of this Congress he spoke on the bill to amend the Judiciary System. He subsequently addressed the House on many of the most important measures considered by it. Among the speeches made by him may be mentioned those in opposition to the Civil Service Bill, which he styled the "schoolmaster system;" against the abolition of the Franking Privilege; against the repeal of the income tax; on the contested election case of G. W. Booker of Virginia; upon the method of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, and the power of the President of the Senate in such cases; and upon the currency question. In this last speech Mr. Benton took strong ground in favor of sustaining the credit of the Government by a speedy return to specie payment and the establishment of a convertible currency. He also spoke on the River and Harbor Appropriation Bill, and in favor of an appropriation for the improvement of the upper Connecticut River. In a speech on the Legislative Appropriation Bill he favored the employment of females in the departments.

Toward the latter part of the session he acted as Chairman of the Committee on Pensions. Mr. Benton was always earnest and able in his advocacy of Republican principles, and in his speech on the "Problems of the War," after alluding to the necessities which called into existence the Republican party, he presented the following arraignment of the Democracy:

And while I gladly acknowledge the loyalty of the men who placed patriotism above party, and of the rank and file who, as the masses of the people always are, were honest and loyal, I confidently challenge any one to point to a single act of the Democratic party as a party, as a political organization, which was in earnest support of, and in hearty sympathy with, the Government during the war. The votes of its Representatives in Congress, the declarations of its conventions and of its party organs, all gave aid, comfort, and encouragement to the Rebellion, prolonged the struggle for years, caused the shedding of rivers of loyal blood, and have created a national debt which this generation with all its vast resources may not be able to pay. Thus has the Democratic party been false to the people, false to the Government, and false to the cause of liberty.

BENJAMIN T. BIGGS.

BENJAMIN T. BIGGS was born at Summit Bridge, Delaware, October 1, 1821. His youth was mainly occupied upon a farm, but he spent two years at Pennington Seminary, after which he for a time engaged in school-teaching. He was subsequently a student in the Wesleyan University, Connecticut, but left without graduating by reason of ill-health, and in 1847 gave his whole attention to farming. In 1853 he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, and subsequently became interested in railroad operations. In 1860 he was a candidate for Congress, but failed of an election. In 1868 he was more successful, being elected, by a large majority as a Democrat, the Representative from Delaware to the Forty-first Congress.

On assuming his seat Mr. Biggs was assigned to the Committees on Mines and Mining and Expenditures in the Treasury Department. His first speech was on the Georgia Reconstruction bill, which he denounced as legislation of a character the most outrageous that was ever introduced into an American Congress.

In his speech on "National Politics" Mr. Biggs charged the dominant party with sorely tarnishing the honor and fame of the country by "harsh and unnecessary acts of tyranny." In his speech on the Tax bill Mr. Biggs argued against the tax on incomes as uncalled for, as in direct conflict with the spirit of our free institutions, as unfair, unjust, and oppressive.

In his remarks on the Washington and New York Railroad bill Mr. Biggs strenuously opposed that measure mainly upon the ground that the United States has no power to enter and make use of the territory of a State, whether it be to erect forts or construct railroads, without first obtaining the consent of the State Legislature.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress we find Mr. Bingham on the Judiciary Committee as Chairman, and a member also of the Committee on Expenditures in the Post-Office Department. Among his earlier speeches in this Congress was that favoring the repeal of the Civil-Tenure law, and his position in reference to this law from the first he expressed as follows :

I desire to say to the House that I have not changed the opinion which I entertained in the Thirty-ninth Congress when what is known as the Tenure-of-Office bill became a law. I believed then, and I believe now, that that act was constitutional. I believed then, and I believe now, that the public interests demanded the enactment of a law to restrain an Executive who seemed to be careless or indifferent to all the obligations of his great office. That necessity for the law, however, has now ceased. The people of the United States have now an Executive in whom they have the fullest confidence. I may be allowed to say that I see indications about me everywhere that the confidence of the people of this country in the distinguished citizen who is now the President of the United States is not confined to the party which elected him. I hear utterances from the most distinguished men of the opposition that they intend to give to the President a fair chance, and to see that he shall have fair play in discharging the duties imposed upon him by the Constitution and the will of the American people. The law upon your statute-book fetters him, and I ask the attention of the House to the fact that it fetters him to such an extent that he is at the mercy even of his own appointees.

Mr. Bingham during the first session addressed the House also on the bill to amend the judicial system, the Indian Appropriation bill, and the bill for the re-construction of Georgia. On this latter question he again addressed the House in the following December, and several times subsequently. He denounced the idea that the government of Georgia since 1868 was a provisional government, and moved an amendment providing that, in accordance with its constitution, there should be during the year 1870 an election of State Senators and representatives. This was known throughout the protracted discussion of the Georgia question as the "Bingham Amendment," and, upon proposing it, Mr. Bingham insisted that the reported bill, if adopted by the House, would have the effect of continuing the existing Legislature for the term of two years, and would in effect declare that the Constitution of Georgia had never been operative.

Mr. Bingham opposed the Civil Service bill, and gave it as his judgment that it ought not to receive the approval of the representatives of the people. He viewed it not so much a question about qualifications as one that related to the appointing power. It involved the doctrine that the appointing power, except in such appointments as must be by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be limited to the will of four commissioners. Without the consent of such a commission "neither the President, nor the heads of departments, nor the courts to whom this power is confided by the Constitution, can appoint any civil officer except as already stated." He further opposed the bill as creating an aristocracy, a privileged class in the country, a species of nobility.


You propose to create here a Board of Commissioners who are to sit in judgment upon every man in the land who applies for an appointment to an inferior office, and to say to one of our maimed heroes, because he cannot answer, as one of these Boards did require a young soldier to answer the other day, questions in astronomy, therefore he is not permitted to keep ordinary accounts in the Treasury Department. It is an absurdity. The world found out long ago that even the author of "The Mechanism of the Heavens" did not prove himself a very skillful man in civil affairs when called to a civil trust by the first Napoleon. And so I think it will be under the rules which may be prescribed by this Board of Commissioners.

In defending the bill to enforce the rights of citizens to vote, Mr. Bingham responded as follows to the opposition cry of "Consolidation:"

Mr. Speaker, were these gentlemen ignorant of the fact that the very word which they employ this day in condemnation of this bill is the very word employed by those mighty men whom God taught to build for glory and for beauty, and who framed the majestic fabric of American empire? When they had completed their work and submitted it to the Congress of the United States, under the Confederation, to be referred to the people of the several States for approval or rejection, in their address the fathers of the Republic declared that in framing the Constitution of government they had kept steadily in view the "consolidation" of the Union. . . .

What is our Union, sir, but that unity of government which makes the great people who cover this continent one people, who have but one country, one Constitution, and one destiny? What is our Union but that political combination of which it may be said the Constitution is the breath of its life? What is our Union but that more perfect consolidated Union to form which, under the guidance of Washington and his illustrious associates, the people ordained the Constitution?

JOHN T. BIRD.

OHN T. BIRD was born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, August 16, 1829. Having received an academic education he engaged in the study of law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1855. He practiced his profession in his native county, and in 1863 was appointed Prosecutor of the Pleas, holding the office for the full term of five years. In 1868 he was elected as a Democrat to the Forty-first Congress, took his seat March 4, 1869, and was assigned to the Committees on Invalid Pensions and the Militia.

Among the earliest of Mr. Bird's speeches before the House was that on the reconstruction of Georgia. Quoting from the bill that "the Legislature shall ratify the Fifteenth Amendment" before admission, Mr. Bird remarked: "Shall ratify! This is the language of compulsion. It sounds as though it were dictated from the throne of a tyrant. No free will, no exercise of choice or judgment in all this! It is simply saying to the people of Georgia, 'Become slaves and cowards if you would enjoy any political privileges under the Government we have established.'"

In his remarks on the national debt Mr. Bird discountenanced all ideas of repudiation, and insisted that for the honor of the country the debt of the nation should be paid according to the contract and the law of the land.

In his speech on the Tariff Mr. Bird viewed the subject as connected more especially with the interests of the farming community, and he insisted that the demands and interests of the farmers deserved the most careful attention. "We are," said he, "under very great obligations to the farmers and laborers dependent on them for employment. Without their steady and unflinching devotion to the Union it would have been dissolved long ago. The first Bull Run would have been the last encounter."

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Blair served on the Committee of Ways and Means and on the Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States. On the 16th of March, 1870, Mr. Blair delivered an able speech on the Tariff, of which the following are extracts :

The first and principal object of every tariff is revenue. Until quite recently the customs duties were almost the only source of revenue to the General Government. It is still our main dependence "for the support of Government and for the discharge of the debts of the United States." Under the present tariff \$180,000,000 a year have been collected in gold. It is our only resource for the payment of interest upon the public debt. It is the foundation rock upon which the public credit stands. Remove it and bonds and greenbacks will fall into one common ruin together, and the monthly reports from the Treasury Departments will bring panic and dismay instead of security and confidence. . . . As revenue is the principal object of every tariff, so also is protection the incident. In laying a tariff of duties upon imports for revenue it has become the settled practice for Congress to discriminate in favor of the productions of our own people. As, for example, the duties laid upon tea and coffee are for revenue only for the reason that as we do not produce those articles there is nothing to protect, and of course no protection; while the duties levied upon iron and steel and their manufactures, which we do produce, are protective of those productions. They produce a revenue, however, none the less for that reason, and the protection is incidental to the revenue and according to its amount. . . . To the old catchword, Why not buy always where you can buy cheapest? I reply that he cannot buy at all who does not sell. He is a very stupid economist who clamors for a cheap market to purchase in while he makes no preparation for acquiring the means to purchase in any market whatever. . . . The teachings of an experience of eighty years are not to be idly thrown away at the beck of visionary speculators, whose false facts and false logic tend only to bewilder the public judgment. The people are neither oppressed nor impoverished, however imaginative orators may declaim upon it.

On the 24th of May, when the House had under consideration the bill making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1871, Mr. Blair made an eminently practical as well as forcible speech. In his opening remarks he said :

Mr. Chairman, that the Post-Office Department does not realize the just expectations of the country is too clear to admit of dispute. It has become not only a serious burden to the treasury, but it has entirely failed to meet the requirements of the public service. Large annual appropriations are required to meet its deficiencies, and the prospects of future relief are not encouraging.

There appears no reasonable ground for hope of cheaper postage, at least for years to come. Our revenues from other sources increase in a greater ratio than the most sanguine calculations have ventured to predict, but the postal revenues are notably an exception. Here the increase of expenses outruns the increase of the revenues.

After briefly discussing the last annual Report of the Postmaster-General, Mr. Blair proceeded to examine the suggestions presented by that official looking toward an increase of the revenues of his Department. He asserted that the "Postmaster-General had failed to apprehend the real causes of the failure of the Department to be self-sustaining." After stating what, in his opinion, were the causes of such failure, Mr. Blair concluded as follows:

Mr. Chairman, I will not pursue this subject further. It is not difficult to understand what the Post-Office Department needs. It needs vigorous administration. Of political nursing it has had more than enough, but of business capacity and energetic administration there is no sign. There needs a master who thinks more of the prompt delivery of a letter than of the appointment of a clerk from Maryland who is charged to Texas.

On the 1st of June, 1870, the Tax Bill being under consideration, Mr. Blair made a statement of the reasons which operated upon the minds of the members of the Committee of Ways and Means to induce them to retain in an amended form what is known as the "Income Tax." He said:

It is true, as the gentleman from New York (Mr. McCarthy) has stated, that there has been a great deal of opposition to this tax developed in the country. I attribute that mainly to the fact that those who pay it are a very influential class of people, not that there is any very general opposition to the tax among the people as a whole. That could hardly be so from the fact that the great body of the people are not reached in any way by this tax. . . . As has been before stated, there are only about two hundred and seventy-five thousand persons in the country who pay this tax at all. . . . I can see no good reason for abandoning the whole of this tax, for we cannot spare the revenue which can be derived from it. Gentlemen must bear in mind that every dollar which we take off this Income Tax, which applies to the rich men of the country, must be laid upon the poorer men of the country. Let them remember, when they propose to take this tax off the rich and influential men of their districts they must put it upon the poor men of their districts. I protest against any such action on the part of Congress. I stand here in behalf of the great body of the people. I believe this is the most just and righteous tax of all the different taxes which are levied under our laws.

THOMAS BOLES.


(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

On taking his seat in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Boles was assigned to the Committee on the District of Columbia. He indulged in but few extended speeches, and his remarks to the House were mostly confined to a few words of information or explanation touching matters not so familiar to the House generally as to himself; such, for example, as were made in connection with the deliberations upon the bill for the protection of life on steamboats, and on the River and Harbor Bill. His longest and most elaborate address was on the bill for admitting Virginia to representation in Congress:

“Mr. Speaker, I will vote for this bill, but not because I believe the government of the State of Virginia is in the hands of loyal men; for I am satisfied it is virtually in the hands of the same class of men who controlled the State at the time she attempted to disrupt this Union, and who are now more disloyal than they were at the time she made that fruitless attempt. Nor do I vote for it because I believe the loyal people of that State will have protection given their lives and property by that government, for I am well satisfied we seal the fate of the loyal people of the State of Virginia, at least for awhile, by the admission of that State at the present time; nor because Virginia has in good faith accepted the situation and is thoroughly reconstructed in accordance with the design of congressional reconstruction, for if I understand the reconstruction acts of Congress they were intended to assist in the formation of republican governments in the Southern States that would insure the equal protection of all persons in life, liberty, and property, while I know in many parts of that State at this very moment many, yea, very many who are Republicans dare not say so openly for fear of the injuries they know they would receive did they do so.”

Mr. Boles was of the opinion that a sad mistake had been made in the reorganization of Virginia, but which it was too late wholly to remedy; but considering that the State had technically complied with the Reconstruction acts, there was nothing to be done now but to admit her with the fundamental conditions attached.

GEORGE WILLIAM BOOKER.

EORGE WILLIAM BOOKER was born in Patrick County, Virginia, on the 5th of December, 1821. He received only a common-school education, and was for a short time at an academy in Henry County, known as the Patrick Henry Academy. Here he studied the elements of Latin. After leaving school he taught what is called an "old field school." While thus engaged he read law without a preceptor, and obtained license to practice. Very early in life he evinced a fondness for reading, and read all the books and newspapers which came in his way. It was his fortune, whether good or bad, to have spent his earlier years at a time when political excitement ran very high, and he soon became fond of political discussion. He embraced the principles of the Democratic party, and remained connected with it till 1860, when the party split in the National Convention at Charleston. He never believed in the right of secession, and supported the Douglas ticket in that memorable contest. He was one of five who voted for Douglas at the court-house of his county.

Soon after arriving at manhood he took up his residence in the County of Henry. He was in 1856 elected a Justice of the Peace, and was soon afterward made Presiding Justice of the County Court, a position of great responsibility with little or no emolument. He held this office for ten years, when he resigned. During the memorable contest in Virginia in 1861 he was an ardent advocate of the perpetuity of the Union, and canvassed his county in favor of the Union candidates for the Convention which met in Richmond to consider the subject of secession. He remained true to his principles during that gloomy period, and voluntarily gave "no aid or comfort" to the Confederate Government.

Under the military administration which immediately succeeded the close of the war Mr. Booker was unanimously recommended to General Scofield by the County Court to be Prosecuting Attorney for the County of Henry, the office having become vacant by the resignation of the former incumbent. He was soon afterward appointed to the same office for the Counties of Franklin and Patrick without any solicitation on his part.

In 1865 Mr. Booker was elected to the Legislature of Virginia from Henry County. As a member of the Legislature he was in favor of accepting the terms of Reconstruction proposed in the Sherman-Shellabarger bill as the best and most direct means of restoring the State to her practical relations with the Government. He was in favor of calling a Convention, under the authority of the State, to adopt a Constitution to carry out the requirements of that bill. Other counsels, however, prevailed, and the result is known to the country. In the canvass of 1869 he supported the Walker ticket for Governor, and, in obedience to solicitations from many prominent citizens, he announced himself a candidate for Congress, and was elected by a large plurality vote over George Tucker and W. H. H. Stowell. His seat was contested by Mr. Tucker upon the pretext of ineligibility, and that he could not take the oath of office. The contestant was a political adventurer who had been in the district but a few months preceding the election, and who left soon after. The Committee on Elections reported unanimously in favor of Mr. Booker's right to the seat, and the House, without a division, sustained the Report of the Committee. He was admitted to his seat February 1, 1870, and was appointed to the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs. He delivered a speech in opposition to the bill to establish a system of National Education. He also addressed the House on the subject of Amnesty, announcing himself as "in favor of the removal of all political disabilities from all persons," and maintaining that "the question of secession, as a right existing under the Constitution of the United States, has been settled forever, not only in Virginia, but in the whole South.

CHRISTOPHER C. BOWEN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Bowen, besides the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, served on the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

One of Mr. Bowen's principal speeches in this Congress was that on the contested election case of *Wallace vs. Simpson*, from the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina. In this speech he supported the claim of Wallace: showing, first, that Simpson was, by law, ineligible, he having repeatedly taken oath to support the Constitution of the United States and afterward participated in the Rebellion. Hence, though having a majority of votes, all those votes, being given to him with a knowledge of his ineligibility, were thrown away. This position Mr. Bowen proceeded to establish by reference to a multitude of authorities covering a long series of years. The case was decided in favor of Wallace.

Another effective speech of Mr. Bowen was that of March 21, 1870, favoring and advocating an appropriation of \$20,000 for rebuilding the Orphan Asylum at Charleston, South Carolina. This asylum was destroyed by the bombardment of the city, and the bill providing means to rebuild it was "in consideration of the services rendered by the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy to sick and wounded Union officers and soldiers during the war."

Said Mr. Bowen in this speech:

Sir, many years ago, without reference to the war and without regard to any particular interest, with nothing to subserve but God and humanity, in its broadest and most catholic sense, a band of noble women separated themselves from the world and all its pleasures and ambitions, and, under the celestial name of "The Sisters of our Lady of Mercy," devoted themselves and their lives to the cause of relieving the miseries and sufferings of mankind. They established themselves at the city of Charleston, South Carolina, and dispensed their charities to all alike, without regard to creed, nationality, or caste: to be in need was the only passport required to share their affections and their charities. By thrift, economy, industry, and the gifts of well-disposed and grateful people of the city and neighborhood of Charleston, these angelic women erected a large and valuable edifice in furtherance of their mission. . . .

This was the edifice destroyed by the bombardment, and for the rebuilding of which the appropriation was solicited. The bill was passed.

SEMPRONIUS H. BOYD.



SEMPRONIUS H. BOYD was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, May 28, 1828. Removing to Missouri in 1840, he settled in Springfield, Green County. He received an academic education, studied law, and began the practice in 1856. He held the office of Clerk of the Probate and Common Pleas Court, and subsequently was elected Mayor of Springfield. Being a Democrat, but unwilling to go with the Southern extremists, he canvassed actively for Douglas as candidate for President in 1860. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion he ardently espoused the Union cause, and raised a regiment known as the Lyon Legion, of which he was commissioned Colonel. He served three years under Generals Curtis, Scofield, Steel, Carr, and Davidson. He commanded the Union forces at the battle of Bloomfield, where he routed the rebels and gained a victory for the Union. He took the part of the negroes, giving them protection and freedom wherever found, and refusing to give them up to Governor Gamble's militia generals. Colonel Boyd, in 1862, arrested and imprisoned James Burch, a Conservative candidate for Governor, because he spoke for slavery.

In 1862 Mr. Boyd was elected a Representative to Congress from Missouri as an Unconditional Emancipationist. He voted for all the radical measures of the Thirty-eighth Congress, and was always ready to do any thing, constitutional or unconstitutional, to crush the Rebellion. At the close of the Thirty-eighth Congress he returned to his profession, but was soon after elected Judge of the Fourteenth Judicial Circuit of Missouri, and as such by his rulings enforced the "Drakonian Constitution" of that State. In 1868 Mr. Boyd was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress.



S. H. Bayd

GEORGE M. BROOKS.



GEORGE M. BROOKS was born in Concord, Massachusetts, July 26, 1824. After a due course of academic preparation in his native place he entered Harvard College, graduating in 1844. He studied law, and successfully practiced his profession in Concord. In 1858 he was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and the following year was a State Senator. At the close of his service of one year in each branch of the General Court, he served on the Joint Committee appointed by that body to revise the statutes of Massachusetts. In 1869 he was nominated by the Republicans to fill the vacancy in the House of Representatives occasioned by the appointment of Hon. George S. Boutwell as Secretary of the Treasury, and was elected, receiving 8,809 votes against 4,284 votes for his Democratic competitor.

Mr. Brooks took his seat as a Representative in the Forty-first Congress at the beginning of the second session, December 6, 1869, and was appointed a member of the Committee on Elections. He occasionally addressed the House briefly on Appropriation Bills, but his chief speeches were on election cases reported from his Committee. He made the reports in the two cases of *Booker vs. Tucker* and *Sheafe vs. Tillman*. His reports in these cases, and his speeches in support of them, were characterized by judicial carefulness and candor, and were fully sustained by the votes of the House. In the former case, and in the case of *Barnes vs. Adams*, which he supported by a speech, the reports of the Committee were against the contestants of his own party. It is honorable to all concerned that the election cases, of which there was an unprecedented number in the Forty-first Congress, were decided without reference to their partisan bearings.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Brooks was continued on the important Committee of Ways and Means, serving also on the Committee on the Rules. Very early in the first session, pending a report from the Reconstruction Committee, he urged upon this Committee to bring in a bill of General Amnesty, and he deemed it quite time that the House should have reached such a measure, and was confident that the country was expecting it. He further announced his determination to vote for no more special cases of pardon unless a general amnesty should be decreed.

In the brief remarks of Mr. Brooks on the bill authorizing the submission, by the President, of the Constitutions of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas to a vote of the people of those States respectively, he in voting for the measure expressed his great reluctance to do so. He would support the measure, not because he liked or approved of it, but as an escape from what would be worse—as a plank thrown out upon which he could temporarily swim, and he would vote for the bill as a choice of evils. Early in the second session Mr. Brooks, on the question of repudiating the National Debt, took occasion to disclaim all idea of repudiation; “and I think,” he added, “that I may speak for the Democratic members of New York city as well as for myself, that we never have been, never can be, never will be, repudiators.”

Toward the close of his great Tariff speech, March 3, 1870, after alluding to the destruction of our foreign commerce, the fact of the carrying-trade being almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, the thousands of skilled ship-builders out of employ, and the destruction of our engine-shops, Mr. Brooks proceeded as follows:

When I recapitulate these melancholy facts, Mr. Chairman, with difficulty do I repress the pulsations of my heart, and the passion such a record of national folly and crime inspires. Our great Republic opens upon two oceans, upon the Gulf of Mexico south, and the great lakes north; our continent overflows with all the material necessary for ship-building. We have harbors unrivaled; we have seamen who, from the days of Paul Jones to the days of Farragut, have known no fear nor shrunk from any adventure, who have stormed the fires of Tripoli and New Orleans, and yet now our commerce scarcely ventures beyond our capes and headlands, or if so it is swept from the open seas by the superior and better maritime administration of England, France, Germany, and even

Sweden and Norway. We, who in the Old World have seen, in Asia and in Africa as well as in Europe, the star-spangled banner everywhere, and who have seen it with pride and pleasure—we, who have traced it from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Pacific and the Atlantic to the Indian sea, and from the Indian sea to the Behring Straits—we, who have seen that flag carried in grandeur and glory all over the earth, now see it scarcely anywhere on any of the broad seas of that earth. It has been banished, swept away, killed, damned, by our accursed tariff. It is gone—almost all gone; the wrecks of it only saved by our exclusive coastwise navigation, or upon the distant shores of the Pacific, too far from England, too far for the mariners of the Baltic to crush it, as it is otherwise crushed and crumbled everywhere upon the open seas.

The most melancholy picture now on the earth, the most deplorable for the American who loves his country, is to see in the harbor of New York, flying from the fleets of shipping there assembled, the British cross of St. George, the tri-colors of France, of Belgium, and of Italy; the red, black, and gold of Germany, and the yellow of Spain—foreign flags everywhere, and the star-spangled banner nowhere but upon some coastwise craft. How is this? Why is this? Are the days of Preble and Decatur rubbed out of the American calendar? Are the Constitution and the Guerriere forgotten? Are the memories of Tripoli and the Algerines no more? Have the industry and enterprise of our country gone—all gone? Do we, the sons of glorious ancestral fame, mean to give up the dominion of the seas? Never, never, sir. Even now, while the accursed tariff is pouring into our ships its fatal grape and canister, and the star-spangled banner is going down, every true-hearted American re-echoes the dying words of Lawrence:

“Don’t give up the ship!”

Pending the discussion of the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, Mr. Brooks moved what he termed his Annual Amendment to the bill, namely, a provision for a Mission to Rome, which occasioned an animated debate, resulting in setting aside the proposed amendment. Passing by numerous other speeches of this active and able Representative, our limits will allow us only a brief extract additional—an extract from his memorial speech on occasion of the death of Senator Fessenden:

My honorable friend from Portland, Maine, in the course of his beautiful eulogy, took occasion to say that Mr. Fessenden was not eloquent. In that I differ from him entirely. Eloquence, sir, is not words. Eloquence is not the pompous parade of speech. Eloquence is not emphasis, ejaculation, gesticulation, or intonation. The orator is not he who can roll off periods on sesquipedalian words, or emblazon feeble thought in brilliant rhetoric; but it is he whose mind most powerfully grasps ideas, and with unerring logic sets them forth in fitting words to the public ear. He who can do that is really an eloquent man; and in that respect, sir, no man was more eloquent than Mr. Fessenden.

ALFRED E. BUCK.



ALFRED E. BUCK was born in Foxcroft, Maine, February 7, 1832. He received a common-school education in his native town. When eighteen years of age, while at work in his father's small lumber-mill, he determined to prepare for college. By his own almost unaided efforts, teaching school while pursuing his studies, he obtained a collegiate education and graduated with high honor at Waterville College, Maine, in 1859. He spent one year in teaching in the High School of Hallowell, Maine, and the following year was called to take charge of the High School of Lewiston, Maine, where he met with great success as a teacher.

On the breaking out of the Rebellion he immediately offered his services as a private soldier, but at that time, few troops being called for, he was induced to remain with his school. After the disaster at Ball's Bluff, and other reverses in the early fall of 1861, more troops being called for, Mr. Buck at once opened recruiting offices in several places in the State when no bounties were offered, and raised a company of soldiers for the Thirteenth Maine Regiment. He was appointed Captain in that Regiment, which, as a part of General Butler's command, was sent to Ship Island in February, 1862. In July he was assigned to the command of Fort Pike, La., with his company as garrison.

In the summer of 1863 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ninety-first Regiment of colored Infantry, but was soon after transferred to the command of the Fifty-first Regiment of colored troops. He was soon appointed as a member of a Board for the examination of officers of colored troops for promotion. In the campaign against Mobile he was brevetted for gallant conduct at



J. E. Buck

the siege of Fort Blakely, Alabama, April, 1865. On the capture of Mobile he was appointed Inspector-General of Division, and served as such, and as Inspector-General of Western Louisiana till November, when he was assigned to duty on a Military Commission at New Orleans. He was mustered out of service June 16, 1866, and immediately took up his residence in the vicinity of Mobile, where he had purchased property.

He was elected, under the Reconstruction Acts of Congress in October, 1867, a member of the State Convention which framed the present Constitution of Alabama. In this Convention he was Chairman of the Committee on Preamble and Bill of Rights, and, as such, engrafted his just ideas of human rights into that instrument, in the declaration that all persons shall possess "equal civil and political rights and public privileges." In December, 1867, he was appointed Clerk of the Circuit Court of Mobile County, and was elected to that office in February following. He was elected a Presidential Elector on the Republican ticket in 1868.

In the summer of 1869 Mr. Buck was elected, as a Republican, a Representative from Alabama to the Forty-first Congress, and was admitted to his seat at the opening of the second session, December 6. As a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad he did much to aid in preparing and passing the Pacific Railroad Bill. He displayed ability and efficiency in obtaining appropriations for the rivers and harbors of Alabama and the South generally.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Buckley was a member of the Committee on Territories. During the discussion of a proposed appropriation for the Bureau of Education, February 22, 1870, in reply to Mr. Wood, who had declared himself opposed to "selecting a particular class of people, and bestowing upon them all our benevolent and charitable contributions," Mr. Buckley said:

The appropriation is not designed simply for the freedmen of the South. It is asked by the people of Massachusetts as much as by the people of Alabama. In reply to the insinuation which is thrown out here, I wish to say that the colored people of the South have never asked at the hands of this Congress any thing but what the people of other parts of the country have received, and they never will. They do not care about a simple appropriation for the education of their children: all they want is the opportunity to provide schools for their children, and as good schools as are provided anywhere in the country. I have understood that the operation of this appropriation is simply to furnish to the country the best organized systems of schools. In 1867 a convention met in the State of Alabama to form for that State a free constitution, the only free constitution the State ever had. In order that it might provide for a school system to educate not only its colored people, but thirty-seven thousand adult whites who could not read or write, the Committee on Education of that convention sent, as its first step, to the Commissioner of Education in this city for advice as to the best system possible for doing this enormous work. I now ask that members of this House who are in favor of giving to those colored persons the same educational opportunities enjoyed by the most favored citizens of the Republic shall support this measure. We ask for them not merely education, not merely civil and political rights; we ask that they shall stand upon the same platform as other citizens. We ask for nothing more.

During the discussion of the Indian Appropriation Bill, Mr. Buckley, after having alluded to the Indian treaties under which millions of dollars had been voted out of the Treasury of the country, proceeded as follows:

I am glad to see that this House, and I believe the country, are becoming tired of this system of dealing with the Indians. In my judgment, if we ever hope to lift the Indians out of their present degradation and save them from self-extinction it must be not by giving them millions of money, not by presents of provisions and other articles, not by ministering simply to their artificial wants, but by trying to encourage and build up among them domestic relations, by extending their social ties, and by organizing among them, if it is possible, something like a civil condition. Hence I am glad to see in this House a movement of abolishing these treaties with the Indians, so far as may be consistent with the plighted faith of the Government. I am glad, too, to hear the idea promulgated here that we must bring these Indians under the control of law. Such a measure is necessary if we are to do them any good in our efforts


to alleviate their condition, to educate them, and make them a blessing to themselves and not a mere expense to the country.

On the 12th of March, 1870, Mr. Buckley delivered an eloquent speech, advocating the Removal of Political Disabilities, from which the following extracts are made :

There is much, Mr. Speaker, in our imperial Republic of which her citizens are justly proud. I am proud, sir, of her long line of noble and honored ancestry, of her free institutions, and her sacred, indissoluble Union. I rejoice in her schools, in her churches, and her Christian civilization; her marvelous growth and her abundant internal resources. I love her tried Constitution and her unparalleled freedom, regulated by wise laws. I love her banner, which floats proudly over the sea and over the land. I am proud of the protecting shield of her citizenship at home and abroad; of the patriotism of her people and their capacity for self-government. I am proud of her republicanism, which has shown itself to be the strongest and the safest form of earthly power, the best able to meet a terrible crisis, to rally, to concentrate men and means for the most arduous conflicts, and to carry on war unequalled in vastness and difficulty with united, conscious, definite, and irresistible purpose. I am proud of her terrible power to resist and subdue a rebellion that would have defied the skill or might of every European monarchy or empire. But infinitely above all else, proud am I of her sublime patience and her inimitable magnanimity in the hour of complete triumph. Her forgiveness has been equaled only by her unutterable calamity, and both are unrivaled and have revealed to us our unconquerable might and our real historic destiny.

For the continuance of this same noble and magnanimous spirit I plead in ending the remaining work of reconstruction. I beseech this House not to depart from this noble record in failing to remove political disabilities from all citizens in States long since readmitted to the sisterhood of States, and whose constitutions have been pronounced republican in form. Let this be the speedy and crowning act of your work of reconstruction. . . . I have confidence in the durability of reconstruction, and its adaptation to the wants of the people of the South. Your work there will stand like solid masonry, defying the "tooth of time." What you have done was just, therefore it could not be denied; it was necessary, and therefore it was adopted. It will stand unsupported and alone because we are contending for good government and righteous laws, and because justice and freedom must at last triumph in human affairs. With the restoration of the Union, with the adoption of the fifteenth article of amendments to the Constitution, with the Federal authority vindicated, you may safely take the Southern States out of the pupilage in which they have been held, remove restraints and disqualifications, restore her citizens to the full status of citizenship, and not hazard the rights of any class or race. There are undoubted and undeniable difficulties and dangers that hover around our future pathway, but they are difficulties and dangers which continued disqualification cannot reach or remove; it can only add to them irritation and rancor of feeling.

JAMES BUFFINTON.

AMES BUFFINTON was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, March 16, 1817. After enjoying the advantages of the common schools which it is the boast of Massachusetts that she freely affords to all her children, he further prosecuted his studies at the Friends' College, Providence, Rhode Island. A native of one of the chief manufacturing centers of New England, he naturally found his way into a factory, where he worked as an operative. His tastes, however, were for other and more intellectual pursuits, and he applied himself to the study of medicine, but never applied himself to the practice of the healing art. His active and adventurous spirit at length took the direction of the whale fisheries; but a single voyage sufficed, and he quietly settled down to business as a merchant in his native town. It was not in his nature, however, to be devoted exclusively to his own private affairs, and in 1854 and 1855 he served the city of Fall River as its Mayor. At the outbreak of the Rebellion he was active in raising troops for the field, and he showed the sincerity of his patriotism by himself enlisting and serving as a private in a Massachusetts regiment.

He was elected a Representative from Massachusetts to the Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, and Thirty-sixth Congresses, serving as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. He was re-elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress, during which he served as Chairman of the Committee on Accounts. In 1867 Mr. Buffinton was appointed by President Johnson a Collector of Internal Revenue for Massachusetts. In 1868 he was elected a Representative from Massachusetts to the Forty-first Congress by the Republicans, who gave him 12,975 votes against 3,486 cast by the Democrats.



James Buffington



Horatio C. Brichard

HORATIO C. BURCHARD.



HORATIO C. BURCHARD was born in Marshall, Oneida County, New York, September 25, 1825. After graduating, in 1850, at Hamilton College, he studied and practiced law, and from 1857 to 1860 was a School Commissioner of Stephenson County, Illinois. During the years 1863-1866 inclusive, he was a Member of the Illinois State Legislature, and was elected as a Republican to the Forty-first Congress, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. E. B. Washburne. Mr. Burchard took his seat December 6, 1869, and served on the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The first speeches of Mr. Burchard were in connection with the Tariff question, in the earliest of which he discussed the subject at length. He also discussed largely the subject of the Currency, dwelling on the office of money—the necessary supply of coin, the volume of circulation required, the actual amount in circulation in our own and other countries, and several other important questions. The conclusion of this able speech is as follows:

Shall we, then, abandon a system confessedly an improvement on any heretofore existing, disarrange business, disturb values, abolish the banks, call in their \$516,000,000 of loans, retire their circulation, and depend upon private bankers and brokers to furnish the temporary accommodations to merchants, manufacturers, and the business public now supplied by \$432,000,000 of banking capital? Will it pay to make these dangerous and, if unsuccessful, costly experiments to test the exploded theories of visionary financiers, who will not heed the dear-bought experience of other nations, or gather wisdom from the errors of our fathers? We are returning safely, slowly, surely to the goal of a sound redeemable currency, from which eight years ago we, perhaps necessarily, departed. The country rejoices to see the national credit restored and a stable standard of values regained. Unaided by congressional legislation, and controlled by the higher laws of trade and commerce during the present session, the difference between the paper and specie standard has diminished one half. Without shock to business or financial revulsion, gold has fallen from 180 to 10 per cent. premium, and almost gained the point of departure.

SAMUEL S. BURDETT.



SAMUEL S. BURDETT was born in Leicestershire, England, February 21, 1836, and emigrated to the United States at the age of twelve. He received a liberal education at Oberlin College, Ohio, an institution celebrated for the decided anti-slavery principles which it inculcated when they were unpopular in the North as well as in the South.

After leaving college Mr. Burdett studied law, and in 1858 located in Dewitt, Iowa, for the practice of his profession. His peaceful pursuits were interrupted, like those of hundreds of thousands of others, by the breaking out of the war. In May, 1861, Mr. Burdett entered the Union Army as a private, and did efficient and faithful service for more than three years, his service expiring in August, 1864.

Returning to his home in Iowa, Mr. Burdett was a presidential elector in the second election of Mr. Lincoln. He removed to Missouri in December, 1864, and settled in Osceola. In 1866 he was appointed Circuit Attorney. He was a Delegate to the Chicago Republican National Convention of 1868.

During the campaign which immediately followed Mr. Burdett was elected a Representative from Missouri to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 11,387 votes, against 7,941 for Phillips, Democrat. He served as a member of the Committee on Elections and the Committee on Education and Labor. As a member of the important and laborious Committee on Elections Mr. Burdett did excellent service, making several reports involving much investigation, and advocating them by earnest and effective speeches. On the 26th of March, 1870, he made a speech on the Tariff, advocating protection to American manufacturing industry.



S. L. Rurdett

ALBERT G. BURR.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Burr was assigned to the Committees on Elections and Expenditures in the War Department. As a member of the former committee he seems to have addressed himself to its duties with great attention and conscientious fidelity. Most of his remarks to the House were in connection with the various reports of this committee, and evince a sincere and earnest regard to justice in respect to contested claims to seats in the House of Representatives.

At the same time his speeches were not confined to this class of questions, and one of his principal addresses was on the Tax and Tariff Bill. An extract or two from this able speech will indicate the position of the speaker on the general subject, as well as the style generally characteristic of his forensic efforts :

Our whole tariff system needs review, modification, and change. A great majority of articles now paying heavy revenue should be on the free list, and pay none whatever. God has surrounded us with plenty ; but man, by legislation, obstructs the supply, and throws barriers in the way of its enjoyment. On our Pacific coast are barren islands, of value only for salt. There the Almighty, by his great laboratory, has manufactured limitless amounts of that great necessity, and man has only to take and apply to his own use this bountiful supply so largely needed and consumed by our western farmers ; but Congress has said, "No, it must be taxed at such a rate as to amount to an absolute prohibition of its removal." Why ? Because the removal and consumption of these islands of salt might lessen the profits of certain millionaires of New York, who do not wish the Almighty to compete with them in giving the American people cheap salt. The free article, manufactured by the Almighty, is prohibited for fear it might interfere with the profits on the sales of the manufactured article. Indeed, I need not specify salt ; but on all articles, except a meager and unimportant free list, outrageous tariff rates are imposed, taxing the consumer for the benefit of those already enriched by unjust and unwise legislation. . . .

If my vote could prevail it would at once abolish this internal revenue system and return to the requirements of the Constitution ; it would at once compel a full review and radical amendment of the tariff infamy, and permit our people to buy where they can buy cheapest, and sell where they could get the best price ; it would cease to punish Americans for being Americans, and would give them the same chance in the markets of the world as is enjoyed by men of countries where labor is much cheaper, but legislation better adapted to protect their interests ; it would require the capital of the country now locked up in Government bonds to pay part of the expenses of the Government, and not impose all those taxes upon the labor of the country.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

General Butler, in the Forty-first Congress, held the Chairmanship of the Committee on Reconstruction, and served also on the Committee on the Judiciary. He continued to be one of the most active members of the House, participating in all the prominent debates, and evincing an interest in every important measure. He early introduced a bill to repeal the Tenure-of-Office Act, demanding immediately the previous question, which was seconded, and the main question ordered. It passed by a majority of 138 to 16. The bill encountered more difficulty in the Senate, whence it was sent back amended, resulting in a protracted and very able discussion in the House, in which General Butler bore a prominent part.

The second bill of importance introduced by him in this Congress was to provide for the organization of a provisional Government for Mississippi, which was referred to the Reconstruction Committee. This in a few days was reported back with an amendment and largely discussed, General Butler delivering an elaborate speech in the course of the debate. On the day previous he had delivered another speech on the bill to amend the Judicial system. The next important bill presented by General Butler was for the Reconstruction of the States of Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas, which also, as a matter of course, occasioned much discussion.

Pending the bill to relieve certain persons of political disabilities, General Butler, rising to close the debate, remarked: "I trust that this bill will receive the two-thirds vote necessary for its passage. As to a few of the men embraced in it, I might personally be disposed to entertain some doubt; but I think that in these cases the doubt should be decided in favor of granting amnesty." It having been charged in the course of the debate that cruelty had been practiced toward the South, General Butler responded:

I ask, Whom have we put on trial for treason? Whom have we convicted and punished for that crime since the surrender at Appomattox? Whom have we imprisoned for treason? Whose property have we confiscated for treason since the day when the war in form, if not in fact, ceased? Who has been

denied any of the rights or privileges under this Government which he had forfeited by his treason except simply the opportunity to vote and act for the destruction of the Government he had once attempted to overthrow by armed rebellion. The party carrying on the Government through the war and since the war have acted toward those men with a magnanimity never known in the history of the world. We have been guided by this proposition—nothing for punishment, everything for safety. . . . Let me hear it proclaimed in all the States of the South that every man there can express his sentiments in a proper manner upon any subject without molestation; let it be shown that every man can vote as he pleases without restraint or intimidation; let it be shown that any man or woman can teach there such doctrines as he or she pleases without let or hindrance; let it be shown that murder or other crimes committed for political reasons are everywhere punished, that the community does not protect the criminal; and in that hour I will vote for general amnesty without any conditions.

On the subject of American Commerce General Butler remarked as follows:

All of us are agreed upon one proposition; it is that there is a great decay, not of American commerce, but of American shipping. Let me pause to give two or three facts bearing upon this point. We sustain nineteen thousand American ships carrying not quite seven million tons, and employing not more than two hundred thousand American sailors in our commerce. We pay for carrying trade eleven million tons burden, and supporting four hundred thousand alien seamen. And to-day, out of the two hundred and sixty-eight thousand tons of steamship lines between America and Europe, not a single ton is under the American flag. This year past we imported goods in American vessels to the amount of \$146,000,000 only; and we brought in foreign vessels goods to the amount of \$317,000,000. We exported from our shores, of our own goods, to the value of only \$160,000,000 in American vessels, while in foreign vessels we exported to the amount of \$303,000,000. . . . What remedy can we provide? How can we stimulate a business which is dying out? The remedy that I have proposed in my amendment, to put differential duties on goods imported in favor of American bottoms, is the only one that to my judgment at all meets the emergency. Therefore I have provided that wherever we are not precluded from so doing by treaty we shall make a differential duty of twenty per cent. of the tariff rate in favor of goods imported in American wooden vessels, and twenty-five per cent. if in American iron ships; so that the whole of our own carrying trade at least will be done by ourselves. . . .

The effect of this discrimination, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, will be to set every ship-yard in the country in motion, to set every rolling-mill in motion that can make iron for iron ships, and to employ every American ship to its fullest capacity. Every one will agree that this will be the result of such differential duties. There is no occasion to pause a moment to argue its effect, for everybody must see it. There is nothing against it in any treaty, and there is nothing against it in any law, because we here make the law.

RODERICK R. BUTLER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Butler, in the Forty-first Congress, was assigned to the Committees on Elections, and Revolutionary Pensions and War of 1812. As a member of both of these committees much of his attention was given to the objects and purposes germane to them, and most of his remarks and addresses to the House were associated with these topics. We extract briefly from his earnest speech in advocacy of the pension claims of the soldiers of 1812:

More than half a century since those old men went to war in defense of a weak and struggling nation, stimulated alone by patriotism; no national, county, or city bounty was presented or promised; no promises made for the support and maintenance of their families in their absence. Those then young, athletic men, now old, time-worn patriots, shouldered their long rifles and knapsacks, bade adieu to all that was near and dear, and marched on foot hundreds of miles to meet the British foe, trusting alone in their strong arms and the justice of their cause. Then, sir, there were no railroads upon which a soldier could in a day or two at most be transported from his home to the front; weeks and months were consumed by the soldier in making his march to the battle-field, never thinking of returning to his home until his term of service expired. His pay was small, only eight dollars per month; his rations short, his bed his blanket, his cover the heavens. There were no sanitary or Christian commissions to look after the sick and wounded. Mr. Speaker, is it just and right to pension those old men and widows? If so, then let us do it at once, and no longer withhold from them the small pittance.

The Committee on Military Affairs having been authorized to inquire into the alleged sale of cadetships by members of Congress, reported to the House on the 17th of March, 1870, the facts that Hon. Roderick R. Butler had recommended the appointment of a son of General Daniel Tyler, who was not a resident of his district, as a cadet at the West Point Military Academy, and that after said appointment was made an agent of General Tyler gave Mr. Butler nine hundred dollars, which he received with the avowed intention of using the same for political purposes in Tennessee. Mr. Stoughton, representing a majority of the Committee, recommended a resolution condemning the action of Mr. Butler, and Mr. Logan, for the minority, moved as a substitute that he be expelled. The resolution for expulsion, though receiving a majority vote, failed for lack of two thirds. The resolution of censure was adopted by yeas 158, nays 62.

HENRY L. CAKE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Cake, in the Forty-first Congress, was Chairman of the Committee on Accounts, and a member of the Joint Committee on Printing.

Among his speeches in this Congress the most elaborate and extended was that of March 17, 1870, on the subject of the tariff. He is to be classed among the thorough Protectionists, and in his speech he insisted that the grandest strides of our nation for wealth and power were the results of the higher tariffs, and that the fluctuations in trade have followed a modification of the revenue laws with as great regularity as the ebb the flood and the flood the ebb of the tide. He added :

During the periods of the operation of our higher tariffs immigration was most active, and the world poured its greatest wealth, the wealth of population, into our lap. Had a tariff law never been invented the Old World would have retained the great workshops, and the New World to-day foot up by less than half its aggregate of wealth, and count by less than half its number of inhabitants.

Mr. Cake then proceeded to a review of the history of the tariff, and its effect upon the trade and prosperity of the country, adducing, in the progress of the investigation, a large amount of statistical information connected with the general subject. Upon the item of *coal* he remarked that the production of anthracite commenced in 1820, in which year 365 tons were shipped, while the present annual production is over 15,000,000 tons, of which nearly 13,500,000 tons were shipped from the mines. The whole amount produced since 1820 is 184,799,412 tons. He estimated that the production of bituminous coal very much exceeds that of anthracite, and that over 20,000,000 tons of the former are annually consumed.

Mr. Cake, among the concluding remarks of this interesting and able speech, pronounced "a tariff for revenue with incidental protection to American manufactures" to be "free trade's twin heresy," and "the artful dodging of the old Democratic party, charged with every reduction of the tariff, and responsible for all the business derangements we have lived to bewail."

HERVEY C. CALKIN.

HERVEY C. CALKIN was born in Malden, Ulster County, New York, March 23, 1828. He received a public-school education. He settled in the city of New York, where for five years he was employed in the Morgan Iron Works. In 1852 he commenced business as a dealer in metals, and identified himself with the shipping interests of the country. Until his election to the Forty-first Congress he held no public position. He was elected by a large majority, and elected as a Democrat. On this latter point he states: "I am a positive Democrat, politically and socially, of the new school, and I sincerely believe that this glorious nation will not become thoroughly united and prosperous again until the Democratic party hold the reins of power. I hope to live to see that day, and to participate in it. This is one of the chief ambitions of my life."

Mr. Calkin was placed on the Committee on Patents and on the Select Committee on the Causes of the Reduction of American Tonnage. One of his speeches was in behalf of American citizens imprisoned abroad, in which he took occasion to deal somewhat severely with the English Government, taking it to task for its bearing and conduct in connection with the war of the Rebellion.

Mr. Calkin's most extensive and elaborate speech in this Congress was on the general subject of American commerce. In this speech he illustrated the great decline of our foreign commerce and of the ship-building interest. This interest he considered as well-nigh ruined, and he estimated that \$30,000,000 worth of property was at the present time lying idle in this country owing to such decline. He further showed that the interest thus damaged was not merely local, but national. "It extends," said Mr. Calkin, "from Maine to Oregon; reaches up all our beautiful rivers, and is upon all our lakes."

JOHN CESSNA.

JOHN CESSNA was born in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1821. Graduating at Marshall College, Mercersburg, in 1842, he was afterwards tutor in that institution. He then studied law, and came to the bar in 1845. In 1851, 1852, 1862, and 1863 he was a member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature, and during two of these years he was Speaker of the House. He was a member of the Cincinnati Convention in 1856, of the Charleston and Baltimore Conventions in 1860, and of the Chicago Convention in 1868. In 1865 he was chosen Chairman of the Republican State Convention, and, on motion of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, was elected Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. In 1868 he was elected, as a Republican, a Representative from Pennsylvania to the Forty-first Congress.

On taking his seat Mr. Cessna was assigned to the Committees on Elections and Expenditures in the War Department. He indulged in few extended speeches on any of the great topics of legislation considered in this Congress. The most of his addresses to the House were as a member of the Committee on Elections, and concerning the claims of parties contesting for seats in that body. Of course the details belonging to this class of cases were hardly of a character to call into exercise any speeches or remarks that would attract the interest or attention of general readers. A brief specimen, therefore, must suffice for this sketch, which we extract from his remarks favoring the right of Mr. Covode to his seat in this Congress : •

Let me say a word just here in answer to the political appeals that have come from the other side of the House, and they have come in a civil, kindly, and gentlemanly way ; but I say here now, and it may do for all other cases as well as this, that such appeals come with a bad grace from the quarter whence they proceed.

JOHN C. CHURCHILL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Churchill, in the Forty-first Congress, was a member of the Committee on Elections and Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures on the Public Buildings. Though not given to much speaking, he addressed the House during this Congress in several interesting speeches. In his speech on the tariff, alluding to the condition of our trade with Canada during the year 1869, he gave the following statistics :

In 1870 we took from the Canadians \$1,673,000 worth of wheat, while they took from us \$4,502,000 worth, or nearly three times as much. In the same year we took \$445,000 worth of flour, while they took \$3,869,000 worth, or nearly nine times as much. We took from them in the same year \$157,000 worth of rye, and they took from us \$1,180, a very small amount. Of oats we took \$299,000 worth, while they took \$290,000 worth, or about the same ; but as the result of the whole trade, we purchased from them \$7,084,840 worth, while they purchased from us of the same species of grain, etc., \$11,069,133 worth. In other words, they took nearly twice as much from us as we took from them.

In his remarks in connection with the Appropriation bill, Mr. Churchill presents the melancholy picture following :

And I desire to state a few facts in regard to the number of disasters on the lakes, and the losses thereby occasioned, as shown by official reports, in order to show the necessity for this amendment. The disasters for ten years on the lakes are, for 1860, 377 ; for 1861, 275 ; for 1862, 300 ; for 1863, 310 ; for 1864, 379 ; for 1865, 421 ; for 1866, 621 ; for 1867, 931 ; for 1868, 1,169 ; and for 1869, 1,914. The vessels totally lost in 1869 numbered 126, with a tonnage of 33,892 tons, and of the value of \$1,414,200. The damage done by marine disasters in 1869 amounted to \$4,160,000. The lives lost in 1868 on the lakes numbered 321, and in 1869 they numbered 209. Now, for the purpose of averting some of this loss of life and property on the lakes, it is asked that so many of these revenue-cutters as the Secretary of the Treasury in his discretion may decide to be necessary shall be put in commission.

In the speech of Mr. Churchill on the bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment occur the following words :

Sir, we all know that Ku-Klux outrages have been committed not only in North Carolina, where it was recently necessary to call out a military force to protect the people at the elections, but in other States of the South, and that in more than one city of this Union enormous frauds have been perpetrated upon the ballot-box. I regret that in the discussion of a grave question like this, one that underlies our republican system, there should be manifested any party spirit or party feeling.



W. H. Black

WILLIAM T. CLARK.



WILLIAM T. CLARK was born in Norwalk, Connecticut, June 29, 1834. He attended the schools of his native State, and received an academic training in the city of New York, where he also studied law. Meanwhile, like many others in all professions, he spent some time in school teaching. In 1855 he removed to Iowa, where he engaged in the practice of law, in which he was occupied until the commencement of the war.

He entered the army at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and for his efficient and meritorious services in many fields he was regularly promoted through all grades up to Brevet Major-General. He was in command of a division in Texas when mustered out of the service in 1866, when he went into business in Galveston. He took an active part in promoting reconstruction. While this important work was in progress he was a candidate for Congress and was elected, receiving 16,512 votes against 8,864 for Elliott, Democrat.

Mr. Clark was admitted to his seat as a Representative from Texas to the Forty-first Congress March 31, 1870, and was appointed on the Committee on Commerce and the Select Committee on the Reorganization of the Civil Service of the Government. His first speech was an eloquent appeal to the House in behalf of the South pending the Currency Bill. The following is an extract from this speech :

Mr. Speaker, I deem myself unfortunate that I am the only member on this floor from the South to rise and advocate the measures contained in this bill. Whatever may be done in this House, whatever may be done in this Congress, I believe the time has come when every principle of honor and justice demands

that there shall be a redistribution of the currency of the country. I shall not now go over the arguments advanced here by gentlemen from different sections especially by those from New England, where I was born and raised, and where I wish there was more forgiving and less forgetting. I shall demand in behalf of the people of my section that there shall be a redistribution of the currency.

The principles involved in the discussion are those which reach the material well-being of every one in this country whatever may be his condition in life. This subject has challenged the best thought in every age. Writers on political economy, kings of finance, have been staggered in the attempt to solve the financial problems submitted to them; and the diversity of opinion regarding the best theory of establishing a currency suitable and equal to the wants of a people makes a long chapter in the annals of every nation. It is a fact of history that in every revolution affecting the march of civilization, where one step forward has been taken in the progress of humanity toward its higher and better estate, the question of ways and means for the payment of the material used to attain this progress has been the one all-absorbing question of the times. Patriotism and the love of our fellow-men may kindle the hearts and nerve the arms of our people to deeds of valor; victories may be won, the right maintained; but after all the strength of a nation lies in its capacity to provide the means of sustaining not only its armies in its contests, but its credit in times of peace.

From the provisions of the bill I draw two general propositions:

1. That it is the duty of the Government to provide a currency suitable and equal to the requirements of the whole country, and to the wants of trade and business as well as to the payment of debts due the Government; and,
2. That in making this provision it is also the duty of the Government to take such measures as will maintain the currency on a specie basis.

The bill looks to these two ends. It provides for the retirement of \$45,000,000 of three per cents. now held as reserved by banks, the cancellation of \$39,500,000 United States notes, and the issuance of \$95,000,000 national bank notes. It also provides for a withdrawal of \$25,000,000 from banks having more than in equity and good conscience belongs to them, and for scattering this sum broadcast throughout the South in a gold currency, redeemable at all the banks taking advantage of the provisions of this bill; reconstructing the finances of this great national debt paying portion of the country, unloosing from the till and secret burying-places the immense capital acquired since the war, equalizing exchanges, opening up credit, and thus securing an intelligent, wise, and economical distribution of wealth.

Texas in her early days was cursed with banks on a par with institutions which brought such woe and misery upon the people of the Western States. To provide against the recurrence of this evil she, in her Constitution, declared it a penal offense for any bank or moneyed institution to emit its bills to pass as currency within her borders. Growing rapidly to be one of the most prosperous States of the Southwest, she fell into the hands of the banks of New Orleans. The bills of those banks flooded her rich districts. The war broke out, and this paper became almost worthless. And finally, worse than all, came Confederate money, more worthless than the rags out of which it was made.

SIDNEY CLARKE.


(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Clarke took an active and prominent part, participating effectively in discussions of subjects in which his large constituency—embracing the whole State of Kansas—were most interested, such as railroads and public lands. It was, however, in his capacity of Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs that he was most conspicuous before the country, and most successful in the work of legislation. In the first session of this Congress, March 19, 1869, he proposed, as an amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill, a proviso that the Indian tribes should be held to be incapable of making treaties with the United States, and that no such treaty should thereafter be made between the United States and any Indian tribe; and that no contract entered into for the payment of money from the Treasury should have effect unless the enforcement thereof should be authorized by an act of Congress.

In a speech on the Indian policy, delivered in the House a few days after the introduction of this measure, Mr. Clarke maintained that if treaties then before the Senate were ratified, vast quantities of public lands, numbering in Kansas alone ten or eleven million acres, would be transferred, under the guise of the treaty-making power, into the hands of corporations and speculators as against the rights and interests of the people of the whole country. He asserted that the amendment proposed by him was a measure designed “to terminate this corruption, this wrong, and this injustice, which is not only inflicted upon the Government, which not only calls upon us to appropriate yearly many millions of dollars, but inflicts injustice and wrong and outrage upon those gallant men who to-day are bearing the banners of civilization on our western frontiers, and who to day are doing so much to add to the wealth, development, and progress of the Republic.”

Mr. Clarke, laboring in conjunction with Mr. Harlan, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, was successful, in spite of many obstacles, in seeing the enlightened policy which he advocated adopted by Congress as the basis of future dealings with the aboriginal tribes.

ORESTES CLEVELAND.

RESTES CLEVELAND was born in Duaneburgh, Schenectady County, New York, March 2, 1829. His father, Job Cleveland, was a farmer, a man of ability, and widely known for his personal integrity. He was for many years re-elected Justice of the Peace by both the Whig and Democratic parties, although a staunch Democrat, and his word was relied upon with the greatest confidence by all who knew him. Orestes has inherited many of his father's traits, using no tobacco nor intoxicating drinks of any kind; possessing his father's integrity of character and generous nature, and living an industrious and useful life. At fifteen he was found too slender for farm-work, and was placed in an importing house in New York city. He had only such an education as could be procured in a country-school twenty-five years ago, by attending it a short time in winter when he could be spared from farm-work. He was found apt at business, took to his books evenings, thus securing for himself a good English education, and remained with the house fourteen years, the last four years as partner. In 1853 he married a daughter of the late Joseph Dixon, Esq., of Jersey City, and in 1858 took charge of the Black Lead Crucible business, in which Mr. Dixon had been engaged for thirty years, as an equal partner. To this he brought his experience as a merchant, and soon raised the establishment from a position of no importance to that of the largest and most successful of its kind in the world. It is now "the Joseph Dixon Crucible Company," of which Mr. Cleveland is the President. He is widely known in trade as a high-toned business man and a shrewd, calculating manufacturer. He is now Vice-President of the American Institute of New York. His name and influence



O. Cleveland

are sought by Banks, Insurance Companies, and other institutions. He is a gentleman of literary culture and refined tastes, which are evinced in his large and well-assorted private library.

He had always declined public office, although a very active Democrat, until in 1861 a new ward was created in Jersey City, and he was elected to represent it in the City Council. In 1862 he was President of the Board of Aldermen, and in 1864 was elected Mayor of Jersey City, re-elected to the two succeeding terms, and was unanimously offered the nomination for the fourth term by his own party, with an assurance from prominent Republicans that no candidate would be run against him if he would take it; but he declined, and the Republicans elected their candidate. He was active during the war in sustaining the government, was Chairman of the first patriotic committee in the State in 1861, and while Mayor raised large sums on his own personal security, and enabled the city to fill its quota, without a single drafted man being taken.

In 1868 Mr. Cleveland was elected a Representative from New Jersey to the Forty-first Congress by the Democrats, receiving 19,110 votes against 16,862 votes for Halsey, the sitting member. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Manufactures and the Committee on Territories. He immediately took a position of influence in Congress, his knowledge of the details of commerce and manufactures rendering him a valuable debater, especially in the consideration of tariff and tax bills.

His first speech in the House was on "Finance and Taxation," in which he took ground against paying the Five-twenty Bonds in gold, showing by quotations from the laws under which they were issued and by logical argument that they were not intended when issued to be paid in any thing but "lawful money," and that "lawful money" meant greenbacks as distinguished from gold. His speech on the bill reported by the Committee on Patents was important in its results, and ever afterward gave him the attention of the House. The Committee introduced a bill to condense all the Patent Laws into one, and, amongst other new matter, inserted a provision requiring the payment of additional fees at stated

periods during the continuance of the patent, or in default the patent should be forfeited. The debate came up suddenly, and Mr. Cleveland forced the committee to accept many amendments; but the last one, striking out the whole section calling for additional fees, the committee fought against. It was carried, however, after an eloquent appeal from Mr. Cleveland on behalf of inventors. This was the first and only instance in which a Standing Committee, with a unanimous report, was beaten by a Democrat in that Congress. The following are the closing sentences of Mr. Cleveland's *impromptu* speech on this occasion :

I protest against making the inventive genius of the country a source of revenue under the pretense of protection. We have no power to do that. That provision of the Constitution authorizing Congress to "promote the progress of science and useful arts" gives no power to Congress to impose a tax for revenue upon such persons as may desire the protection of Congress; on the contrary, the provision is restrictive, and I am confident grants no power to demand fees in a greater amount than may be absolutely necessary to pay the reasonable expenses of the Government in maintaining a department for that purpose.

The Government has been ingenious and persevering in seeking out every possible source of revenue, in devising unheard-of taxes, and no article that has a tangible existence has escaped its penetration, and this bill now proposes to tax the very thoughts that enter the mind of the poor inventor, if he shall have the audacity to place them upon paper or in a model and claim them as his own. The object of that provision in the Constitution under which the patent laws have been enacted is plain; it is to promote and encourage arts and manufactures in this country; but section seventy of this bill proposes to stifle and smother the efforts of any uneasy genius who proposes to benefit himself and his country by producing a new manufacture, or simplifying existing processes, or inventing labor-saving machines.

I catch the suggestion here and elsewhere that a large portion of these people are but dreamers and enthusiasts, their patents useless, and as well abandoned after the first seven years. Mr. Speaker, these poor dreamers are the real benefactors of mankind and the greatest promoters of civilization in the world, and this country especially owes them a debt of gratitude it has not the power to pay; yet by section seventy of this bill the powerful hand of this great Government is made to seize hold of them at the end of seven years, as it would seize a culprit, threatening to crush out their ambition, to destroy their prospects, to put out the lamp of genius they have so long been struggling to keep burning, to hide from them the path in which they have been encouraged by the Government itself to pursue success till they have grown foot-sore and weary, to destroy the very land-marks by which they have traveled so far, and to cast the culprits aside in darkness, destitution, and despair, ruined in all their hopes of comfort and happiness, unless some doubting friend can yet be found who has

not already loaned them more money than he ever expects to get back, who will come forward on the last day and pay the ransom demanded by the Government before it will let go its hold.

If a poor mechanic has been fortunate enough to secure funds to enable him to pay the original fees, amounting to \$115, and secure his patent, and has pursued his labors during the first seven years of trial, anxiety, and disappointment of every kind, living almost upon faith and hope and the charity of his friends, about to bring his labors to a close, he sees clearly the demonstration of his plans that a little more time will enable him to make manifest to capitalists, and that will turn the finger of scorn so long pointed at him as to one of these dreamers, and that will enable him to enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life possibly, and show himself as one of the advance guard in the rapid march of human progress. Just at this point the deep shadow of this Government enters his little workshop. He looks up, and the demand is made upon him for money, more money; revenue is demanded, and the poor bewildered mechanic, crying out that surely the seven years cannot have passed so soon, fumbles over his well-worn tools, he moves about the models and pieces of machinery, he pulls out the old worn drawer of his lathe, and it contains a little of every thing, plans, drawings, the evidence of sleepless nights, of anxieties no man can tell, of family sufferings, of children's wants, of the jibes and sneers of friends and neighbors—it contains all these; but nowhere in his little workshop is there any money to be found, and he turns to plead with the Government not to destroy his labors, to give him another year or another month; but the Government, this benevolent Government, the best Government on earth, by this section is impelled rudely and forcibly to grasp the models, plans, drawings, and hopes of the poor mechanic in its mighty power, and scatter them to the four quarters of the globe!

I ask this House to save the Government from being compelled by this section of this bill to become such a monster; save it from such a humiliating position. . . .

Mr. Cleveland's boldness and tact were shown in the production of the well-known "Minority Report" of the Committee on Manufactures, in which he did himself credit and his party a great service. He was the first to bring before Congress the subject of the Centennial Anniversary to be held in 1876, and of a great International Exposition to be connected therewith, and all the legislation on that subject sprang from a resolution which he introduced. His speeches on the "Revival of American Tonnage," on "The Income Tax," on "Naturalization and the Value of Immigration to this Country," and his written reply to Mr. Morrell, are lasting evidences of Mr. Cleveland's ability and industry in the Forty-first Congress.

AMASA COBB.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cobb was continued on the Committees on Claims and Military Affairs. As a member of the latter committee Mr. Cobb endeavored to procure the enactment of a law for carrying out the decision of the Supreme Court to pay bounties to a certain class of volunteers in the late war. The bill for this purpose passed the House, but failed in the Senate. As a member of the Committee on Claims Mr. Cobb was one of those who stood in the way of rebel claims upon the treasury for property lost in the war, and in his opposition to these demands he was generally successful.

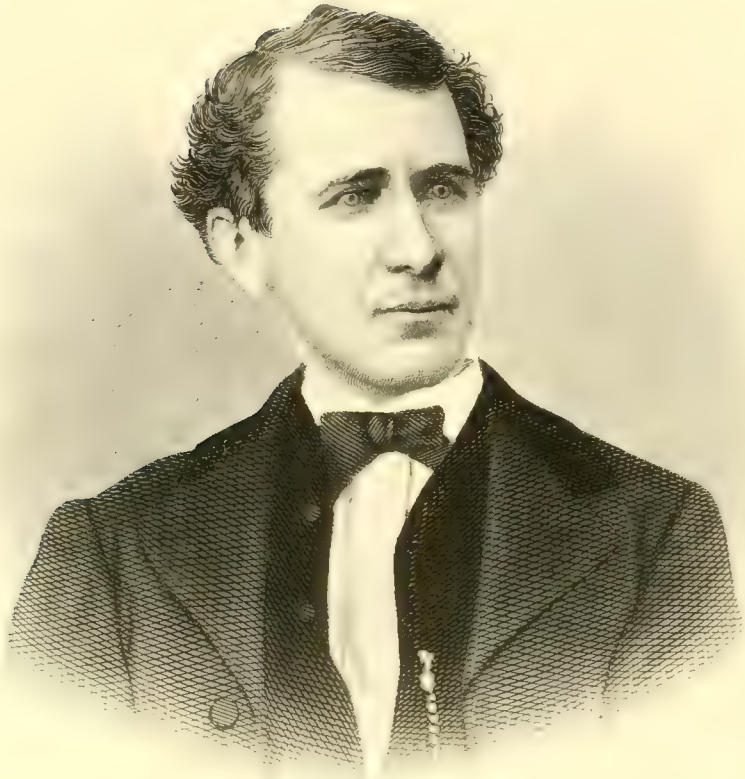
Mr. Cobb was not one of the prolix speakers in the House, but the few specimens which he has given us evince a mind characterized by fairness, candor, and good sense. Thus, in the investigations by the Military Committee of sales of cadetships by members of Congress—both present and former members—he, both in Committee and in the House, insisted that not only should the present members enjoy the opportunity of defending themselves by rebutting evidence, but that ex-members, when implicated, should, if they desired it, have the same privilege. Said he :

Now, sir, I am unwilling to have, and I earnestly protest against, this House so modifying the original order as to make it improper for the Committee to hear such testimony and such explanations whenever any of these gentlemen (ex-members) shall come forward and express a desire to have it done.

In the conclusion of his remarks in the House on the occasion of the death of Mr. Hopkins, a member from Wisconsin, Mr. Cobb observed as follows :

The year 1869 was one of Death's fruitful harvests of statesmen, scholars, and philanthropists; his sheaves lie strewn all over the land. But satiety is not one of his attributes; and scarce had the sun passed his meridian, ushering in the new year, so full of hopes and of fears, than another sheaf had been gathered into the garner, than whom we shall miss none more than he. And while we mourn his loss, let us not forget that yet a little while and we too shall follow him.

At the close of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cobb retired to private life, and making his home in Nebraska, where he previously had an extensive banking business, he became president of the First National Bank of Lincoln.



C L Cobb

CLINTON L. COBB.



LINTON L. COBB was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, August 25, 1842. His family is one of the oldest in that region of the country. The first site of the town in which he was born, and where he still resides, was named in honor of his grandfather; and the present site bears the name of one of his ancestors. His father was a volunteer in the war of 1812. His family, as was the case with many others in Eastern North Carolina, was loyal to the Government at the outbreak of the rebellion, and so continued during the entire war. To remain loyal in the Southern States required an amount of courage which is difficult to be appreciated by those living in the Northern States. To speak in favor of the National Union was to lose the esteem of friends, sacrifice social standing, incur the loss of property and liberty, and in many instances of life itself.

The subject of this sketch attended school until he was thirteen years of age, and then went into a counting-room. He subsequently studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1867.

At the close of the war Mr. Cobb was an earnest advocate of the restoration of his native State to her former relations with the Federal Government, and was an active participant in all the measures looking to that end. In the year 1866 he was a candidate for the Legislature of North Carolina, but was defeated on account of his advocating the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. He was a candidate for election to the Fortieth Congress as a Republican, but withdrew in favor of Hon. John R. French, who was elected. He was unanimously nominated by his party for Representative in the Forty-first Congress, and was elected by

a large majority. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress by an increased majority, and that at a time when his State (which had at the previous election given Grant 15,000 majority) was carried by the Democrats. His district was the only one in the State in which the Republican party made a gain, or even held its own.

In taking his seat in the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cobb was placed on the Committees on Railroads and Canals and on Expenditures in the War Department. He is an earnest and active Representative, full of life and energy, and pushes vigorously any measure which he advocates. In his speech pending the question of the admission of Virginia, after alluding to the proved record of that State in former years, he proceeded to add :

But, sir, in addition to this past glorious record, Virginia has another history in common with my own State (North Carolina) and South Carolina, and by this history we are to be governed in our action at this time. The sons of Virginia, forgetting or ignoring the patriotic lessons of their fathers, sought to sever the Union, and endeavored to raze to the ground the structure which their fathers had erected. Virginia became a part of the Confederacy, attempted to disrupt the Federal Union, and was the head and front of the rebellion. Her record during those dark days is parallel with that of North Carolina. North Carolina sinned, and has atoned for her folly. North Carolina forfeited certain rights, and has regained them by complying with certain "fundamental conditions." Virginia has forfeited certain rights, and can only in justice and fairness regain them by complying with the same "fundamental conditions." Is this harsh or severe? Is it unjust or cruel to ask the same of Virginia that was required of North Carolina? Shall Virginia, because Washington was the "Father of his country," because Madison was the great champion of the Constitution, and Jefferson its great exponent, at this late day receive from our hands a consideration which North Carolina, so slow to secede and so quick to return, was refused?

In his speech on the Cuban question Mr. Cobb remarked :

We have gone through a war to remove the disgrace of African slavery which has so long been a blot upon our fair fame. We have asserted the highest grounds of rights, liberty, and citizenship in connection with the emancipated slaves of the South. We have the approbation and the admiration of the world for what we have done, and mankind have a right to expect that we will not let an opportunity pass of completing the noble work already now so nearly accomplished on this Continent. Should slavery continue to exist in Cuba because of our failure to improve the present opportunity it would detract materially from the glory of our achievement.

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JOHN COBURN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Coburn served on the Committee on Banking and Currency, and as Chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures. On the 20th of December, 1869, he made a speech on the Georgia question, in the outset of his remarks replying to Mr. Morgan, to whom he referred as follows :

My gallant friend from Ohio traveled over the whole field. He began with the war, and ended with the present position of reconstruction. I well remember the first time I saw that gentleman clothed in the Union blue, and I regret that to-night I have heard him say what he has said. . . . I regretted to hear from the gentleman from Ohio an imputation on the name of Mr. Lincoln, and of those who were associated with him in beginning the great struggle on behalf of the Union—an imputation on them for having accepted the resignation of a set of traitors. Why, is it to be imputed to them for wrong that they allowed a traitor to leave the army and walk out from under the flag that he scorned and despised, and to go from under the protection of the law and of the Constitution which he abhorred? The act of Mr. Lincoln, the act of the Secretary of War, the act of the Cabinet in accepting these resignations, was as much an act of patriotism as any other act performed by those men at that time.

In the same speech, replying to Mr. Woodward, Mr. Coburn said :

He says that when our army went down into that country we robbed, and burned, and murdered, and oppressed that people. Such is the language he uses with reference to the defenders of this glorious Union. Sir, from a gentleman entertaining such sentiments I would expect just such an argument as I have heard from him to-night.

Unworthy of a patriot! I hope when I have to say that the army which defended the honor and glory of my country went to rob, murder, and trample under foot the rights of the people my tongue may be palsied forever. Those men, sir, went down there in a sacred cause: to preserve this Union; to defend its honor; to secure the rights of its citizens; to maintain the integrity of our laws; to enforce good government. Although armed treason has been crushed in the field, the spirit of treason still influences the social circle, and lifts its head in the horrid shape of Ku-klux Klans. They now seek to overturn that Constitution by insidious means which for four long years, with arms in their hands, they sought unsuccessfully to trample in the dust. Why, sir, they have imported fifteen thousand stand of arms for the purpose of resisting the laws, and yet gentlemen are found upon this floor who resort to legal quibbles, and insist that we should allow these people to do just what they please, in defiance of our laws, and in contempt of the rights of the loyal citizens in their midst.

Mr. Coburn frequently addressed the House—always forcibly, and sometimes eloquently. He was constantly at his post, active and efficient in all the work of a Representative.

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OMAR D. CONGER.



MAR D. CONGER was born in Cooperstown, New York, in 1818. His father was a clergyman, with whom, in 1824, he removed to Huron County, Ohio. He pursued his preparatory studies at Huron Institute, Milan, Ohio, and graduated at Western Reserve College in 1842. From 1845 to 1847 he was employed in the geological survey and mineral explorations of the Lake Superior copper and iron regions.

Having studied law, Mr. Conger in 1848 engaged in the practice of his profession at Port Huron, Michigan, where he has since resided. In 1850 he was elected a Judge of the St. Clair County Court. He was a Senator in the Michigan Legislature for the biennial terms of 1855, 1857, and 1859, and in the last term was elected president *pro tem.* of the Senate. In 1867 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Michigan. In 1868 he was elected a Representative from Michigan to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 16,347 against 14,623 for Stout, Democrat. In 1870 he was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress over the same competitor.

On taking his seat in the Forty-first Congress Mr. Conger was appointed a member of the Committee on Commerce, and took an active part in legislation. He frequently addressed the House, chiefly on subjects referred to or reported from the Committee on Commerce. The propriety of his appointment to this Committee is evident from the important commercial interests of his own district, in which it is surpassed by no other portion of the Union not on the sea-board, lying as it does immediately on the route of the great inland lake trade. On the 4th of July, 1871, Mr. Conger delivered an oration in Port Huron from which we give extracts,



O. D. Gorgey

both as illustrating his popular style of eloquence, and as giving an interesting view of the commercial importance of his district :

What thronging memories of the past crowd upon us to-day. The scenery around us is all eloquent of our national growth. On the very spot where we stand was planted the first settlement of white men on the lower Peninsula of Michigan. Before the Griffin floated on these waters, before Detroit was discovered or settled, the gallant Du Lhut with his *courrier des bois* had traversed the eastern shore of Lake Huron from the Ottawa route, and, crossing from the low point that guards the foot of Lake Huron, which was then an island, he erected on this mound Fort St. Joseph, and for more than two years held encampment near where we stand, with the beautiful St. Clair before him, the river Dulude (named after him as you find it in the older maps) in his rear, and Lake Huron sleeping in solitary grandeur within the range of his vision.

To the adventurous Frenchman and his band of military hunters, and to his companion, the learned and devoted priest who shared his perils and recorded his discoveries, all around was the grandeur of solitude, the mysterious voices of the unexplored wilderness, and the flood of waters rushing to an unknown bourne. Then they were the only Christian inhabitants of Michigan. To-day we number a million and a quarter of souls. Then his few frail boats were all that dotted the face of the lake or river. To-day the rushing sound of steam, the splashing wheels, the white-winged vessels, the ear-laden barge, the graceful yacht, all the living, moving panorama of water life, spreads before you, awakening the delightful consciousness of the prosperity and glory of our beloved land, and gratifying your taste with glimpses of scenery unsurpassed in its quiet beauty and loveliness in any land under the sun.

Turn your eyes even now upon the river before you. Behold that beautiful fleet of the white-winged messengers of commerce passing in our immediate presence, their sails rustling the overhanging branches of the very trees under which we are gathered. Half a dozen ships in convoy of a single steam-tug, close in shore, moving with slow but certain advance up the swift rapids to pass the light-house and be cast loose upon the waters of Lake Huron, each to trust the favoring gales for a fortunate voyage to its destined haven—a beautiful illustration of American navigation and American commerce.

Since the opening of navigation this spring there have been 8,363 passages of steamboats and vessels past the light-house to and from the lake. Of steamboats, 3,189; of schooners, 886; of brigs, 72; of barks, 1,417; of barges, 1,026; of scows, 869; and of sloops, 4; besides immense rafts of logs, spars, timber, and lumber, and a long list of water craft, whose upward voyage terminated here, as only those are counted which pass the light-house. The annual passages of water craft on our river and lake at this port will exceed 30,000. The number of immigrants arriving here exceeds that of any port in the United States except New York, so that from our very doors we may see and realize to some extent the growth, energy, and commerce of our ever busy population, and have faith in our material prosperity, as I trust we all have in the permanency of our glorious institutions, and the perpetuation of our civil and religious liberties.

JOHN C. CONNER.

JOHN C. CONNER was born in Noblesville, Indiana, October 22, 1842, and was educated at Wabash College of that State. In 1862 he entered the Union army as a Lieutenant of the 63d Indiana Volunteers, and served to the close of the war. In 1866 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Indiana State Legislature. In the fall of that year, upon the reorganization of the army he was appointed captain in the 41st Infantry, and served in Texas until nominated for Congress in 1868. He was elected upon the Democratic ticket.

On taking his seat, March 31, 1870, Mr. Conner was assigned to the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs. He began to be heard in the House very shortly after assuming his seat in the body, and among his first speeches was that on the Tariff, in which he advocated a reduction of rates. In his speech on the Naval Appropriation Bill he declared against the reduction of the navy as "unwise, unstatesmanlike, and anything but independent for the Congress of the first republic and the first Government on earth."

Mr. Conner's remarks on the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill reflected upon the want of care and protection on the part of our Government for American citizens in foreign lands, while so much solicitude was apparent for what were considered oppressed citizens in the South.

In his speech on the bill for enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment Mr. Conner insisted that the people of Texas had been greatly misrepresented in their bearing toward the Government; that the stories of Ku-Klux outrages in that State had been greatly exaggerated, and that a large number of the murders alleged to have been committed there were entirely independent of political considerations.

BURTON C. COOK.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cook was assigned to the Committees on the District of Columbia and Judiciary.

One of the most interesting of his addresses to the House during this Congress was his Tariff speech, from which we present an extract or two. He thus lays down the financial status of the country :

During the last year, with the present rate of taxation and the existing tariff, we raised money sufficient to pay the necessary expenses of the Government, to pay the interest upon the public debt, and to provide a surplus of about \$100,000,000 for the reduction of the principal of the debt. This amount of surplus continued and applied to the payment of the debt would extinguish the entire debt in about sixteen years. An increase of the expenses of the Government seems to be the only thing which would prevent this result. But so far from any increase in the expenses of the Government being necessary or reasonably probable, there is a certainty, I think, that those expenses will be materially diminished. We have seen that those expenses have been some \$60,000,000 less during the first year of the present Administration than they were during the last year of the former Administration, and it is apparent that many of the demands upon the Treasury which existed during the last year do not now exist to the same extent.

Further on Mr. Cook continues as follows :

It seems, therefore, to be certain that if the present rate of tariff and taxation is to be continued the surplus will be much larger during the next fiscal year than during the present. I suppose that this surplus might be fairly estimated at \$150,000,000. Shall this surplus be collected from the people for the purpose of being paid upon the principal of the public debt, or shall the burdens of the people be lightened? Is it necessary that the debt shall be paid within the next sixteen years or less by those who have borne all the burdens of the war? Shall we insist upon collecting this vast amount annually from the people, in the face of the indisputable fact that the industry of the country is paralyzed by a burden of taxation too great to be borne except temporarily and from the most urgent necessity?

After propounding such questions as these we are not surprised to hear the speaker add: "I believe that the best interest of the country demands a large reduction of the amount of taxation; . . . and while, perhaps, there will be little or no difference of opinion upon this proposition, I imagine that there will be a great deal more difficulty in arriving at an agreement upon the question what taxes shall be removed or reduced."

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Covode served on the Committees on the Pacific Railroad and Public Buildings and Grounds. He was remarkable for great plainness of speech, and for utter fearlessness in his addresses to the House. His speeches were generally brief, and his views were expressed with manifest simplicity and sincerity. Under the Tariff discussion, the subject of wool being up, Mr. Covode remarked in the commencement of his address: "Mr. Chairman, as I am located out on the border, and do not often know what is going on in this part of the House, I came down here when I heard gentlemen discussing the wool question to see whether they understood it, and I have heard a great deal said by men who know little about the subject." On another topic in the same general discussion Mr. Covode remarked:

I have listened to the remarks made upon this steel car-wheel question, and I have found that a great many gentlemen have been talking without a knowledge of the views of railroad men. It is not cheap car-wheels that railroad men want, but wheels which will enable people to ride in cars over the roads with safety to life; that is what is for the interest of railroad companies. One of the difficulties which we have to contend with when we import car-wheels and axles and rails from abroad is that we do not know who makes them, or who is to be held responsible for the material of which they are made. But when we use wheels and axles and rails that are made in the United States, railroad companies know every man who makes them. There is not a rail, or wheel, or axle broken on any of the leading railroads of this country but it is known what mill has made it, if it was made in this country; and if any man makes an inferior class of rails he will soon find himself without orders. It is the same with regard to steel car-wheels. It is not the cost of the steel wheel, but the quality of it that is of importance. We want the very best steel in the world in wheels. There is more at stake of life and property in the use of wheels made of poor material than in anything else connected with railroads. There is probably but one man in this House who is more interested in getting car-wheels at the most reasonable price than I am. But I do not want wheels that are merely cheap. I want them to be also good; it is not a question of price at all.

Mr. Covode had humor as well as stern integrity and sterling sense. Answering Mr. Brooks, of New York, whom he thought to be too earnest in his attempts to remove disabilities from Southern men, he remarked as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I do not know how many children the gentleman from New York has; but while he was so eloquently insisting upon removing the disabili-

ities of all these men I was reflecting upon the policy and the fate of Ahab. The gentleman from New York should go back and read the Bible, and reflect upon the doings of Ahab, who was so very merciful as to pardon Benhadad. I recollect that in consequence of that act he not only lost his own life for the mercy he showed to that rebel, but he lost the lives of all his sons, and they were numerous—I think more so than the family of the gentleman from New York.

But Mr. Covode in this Congress was performing his last work on earth. On the 6th of January he left Washington for a brief visit to Philadelphia and Harrisburgh. Reaching the latter city on the 10th, he retired early to rest, and in the enjoyment of his usual vigorous health. About three o'clock, however, he awoke with a severe pain about the heart. All possible was done for his relief, but in less than two brief hours he feebly gasped "I am dying," and expired.

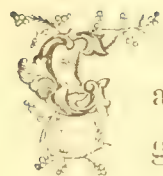
The eulogies upon his life and character in the House and Senate were marked and full. Mr. Kelley presented in interesting detail the main points in the history of his honorable career. Mr. Banks gave some interesting facts relating to Mr. Covode's connection with important political history :

The political campaigns that followed the presidential election of 1856, especially those which brought in review the incidents of the distinguished administration of Mr. Buchanan, gave signal evidence of his success and power. . . . Though a stern partisan, he did not counsel extreme measures. . . . It has been said, and I believe with entire truth, that it was due to the direct action and influence of Mr. Covode that President Lincoln was led, against the advice of some of the most prominent of his supporters, to issue the order directing the immediate and unreserved exchange of prisoners of war during the latter period of the great Rebellion. If this be true, no man can present a more honorable claim to the respect of the people, without reference to political opinions or partisan relations. This view of his character is strengthened by the fact that he never failed or faltered in support of those measures which were deemed necessary to protect and preserve the Government, and to secure and perpetuate the liberties of all its people.

Mr. Sumner, "during Mr. Covode's long service in Congress his contemporary," said :

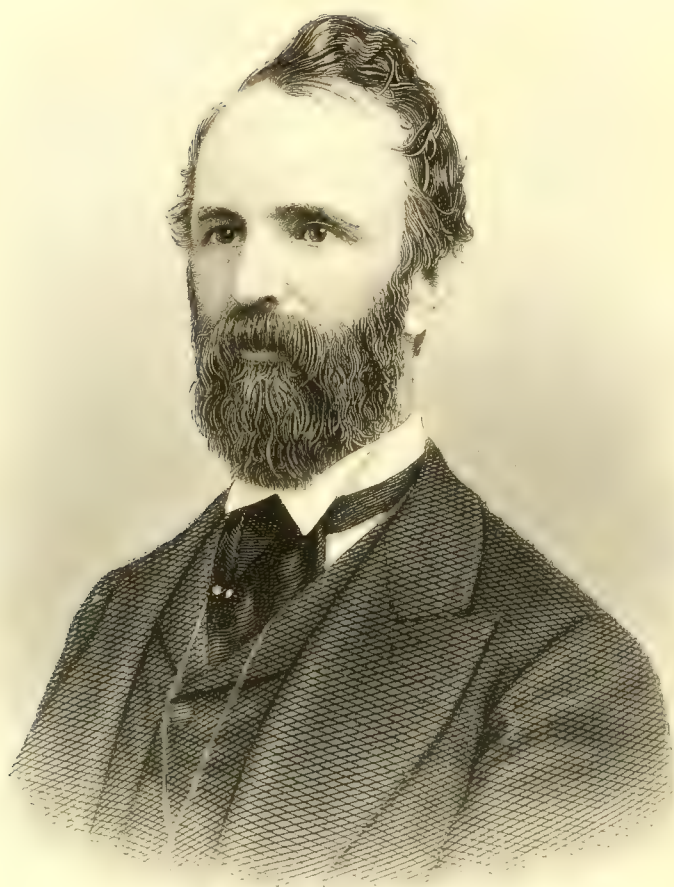
I owe my testimony to the simplicity, integrity, and patriotism of his public life. Always simple, always honest, always patriotic, he leaves a name which must be preserved in the history of Congress.

GEORGE W. COWLES.




GEORGE W. COWLES was born in Otisco, New York, and was educated at Hamilton College, where he was graduated in 1845. From that time until 1853 he was engaged in teaching, when he entered upon the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in the following year. In 1863 he was elected Judge of Wayne County, and re-elected to the same office in 1867. The next year he was elected to the Forty-first Congress. Assuming his seat in the House, he was placed on the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department and that for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Cowles was not a frequent speaker in the debates of the House, nor did he indulge in speeches of protracted length, or deal largely in the ornaments of rhetoric. In presenting the bill concerning divorces in the District of Columbia he remarked that if "in framing a law on this subject for the District of Columbia we should attempt to make it conform to the laws of the various States of the Union, we should find ourselves at sea because the laws of no two States are alike in this respect. It seems to me the period of three years is short enough to be prescribed as the term before the expiration of which parties shall not be permitted to come into court and ask to be relieved from the most sacred obligations which can be assumed. This period is not too long a term to allow to a party against whom there may be ground of complaint, so that he may have an opportunity to reform, and thus obviate the necessity of an application to the courts. It seems to me the provisions of the bill are fair and just, and not oppressive to either party." An amendment being proposed providing that the court may in its discretion grant a divorce where causes have continued for a period of two years, Mr. Cowles consented to the amendment, while he thought that a definite term of three years should be fixed.



L. H. Cox

SAMUEL S. COX.

AMUEL SULLIVAN COX was born in Zanesville, Ohio, September 30, 1824. He attended the Ohio University at Athens, but subsequently became a student of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, where he paid his expenses by means of literary labor, graduating with honor in the class of 1846. He studied law with Judge Converse of the Supreme Bench of Ohio. He practiced his profession first at Cincinnati, whither he went in 1849, and then returned to Zanesville. After a short residence there he went to Europe, and on his return published a book of his travels entitled "The Buckeye Abroad," a well written and extensively popular production.

In 1853, shortly after his return from Europe, Mr. Cox became owner and editor of the "Ohio Statesman," the Democratic organ of the State, published in Columbus. In the spring of 1855 he was tendered the Secretaryship of Legation to England, but declined it, as he was unable satisfactorily to dispose of his ownership of the "Statesman." Subsequently, in the same year, he accepted the Secretaryship of Legation to Peru, but on account of ill health was compelled to resign. He was elected a Representative from the Columbus (Ohio) District to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses, during which he served as Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. He was re-elected to the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses, in which he served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

On the 4th of March, 1865, he removed to New York city. In that year he published a book entitled "Eight Years in Congress." The work is dedicated to his constituents in Ohio, "at whose request the volume was prepared," to whom he says :

I represented you truly when I warned and worked from 1856 to 1860 against the passionate zealotry of North and South: when I denounced, in and out of Congress, the bad fallacy and worse conduct of the secessionists; when I voted to avert the impending war by every measure of adjustment; and when, after war came, by my votes for money and men, I aided the Administration in maintaining the Federal authority over the insurgent States. Sustained by you, I supported every measure which was constitutional and expedient to crush the rebellion. At the same time I have freely challenged the conduct of the Administration in the use of the means committed to it by a devoted people. Believing that a proper use of such means would bring peace and union, and believing in no peace as permanent unless it were wedded to the Union in love and contentment, I have omitted no opportunity to forward these objects. This I have done in spite of threats and violence. For doing it your confidence has not been diminished, but increased.

In the introductory chapter Mr. Cox maintained that a "constitutional opposition" was essential to a free government, and could not be dispensed with "without danger to liberty," adding:

Time will vindicate both the writer and others, who, while they maintained the war for the Union, did not permit their voices for personal and public liberty to be drowned in the clangor of arms. Those who contest encroachments incident to war are never regarded in history as enemies, but as the truest devotees of well-regulated liberty.

The key-note to these speeches, and all efforts made by their author in and out of Congress, was struck in the heat of a debate with a member from Indiana, Mr. Julian, on the 9th of April, 1864: "Under no circumstances conceivable by the human mind would I ever violate the Constitution for any purpose. To compass its destruction as a probable or possible necessity is the very gospel of anarchy, the philosophy of dissolution." This was in reply to a northern statesman, urging extra-constitutional means to suppress the rebellion. Almost the same language was used by the writer to denounce the heresy of secession in the winter of 1860-61.


Soon after the publication of the above mentioned work Mr. Cox made another visit to Europe, spending his time while abroad chiefly on the islands and shores of the Mediterranean. He gave to the public, as the result of his observations, a volume which was published in London and New York, entitled "A Search for Winter Sunbeams," a work much more elaborate and philosophical than books of travel generally. Mr. Cox is a successful author, and a popular lecturer on literary themes. The latest subjects upon which he has appeared upon the platform were "Spain," and the "Poetry of Mechanism."

In 1868 Mr. Cox was elected a Representative from the sixth district of New York to the Forty-first Congress, and in 1870 was re-elected over Mr. Horace Greeley. His district is in the heart of New York city. It is the same formerly represented by Hon. H. J. Raymond. He served as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and the Committee on the Rules. There was no member of the minority who took a more important part in the proceedings than Mr. Cox. Possessing great fluency in speech, and quickness in repartee, he had frequent encounters with the shrewdest men of the majority, and seldom appeared at a disadvantage.

Mr. Cox delivered numerous able, eloquent, and elaborate speeches during these Congresses. He occupied firm partisan ground, and yet he constantly gave evidence of a candor and patriotism rising above party. For instance, in one of his speeches against the bill to amend the act to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, after showing the tendency of the measure to advance the interests of his party, he said: "If the Democratic party of the city and State of New York were less patriotic than partisan they would be glad to have this measure of forcing elections continue and become intensified by the proposed amendments. The effect would be still to increase their majorities; but I would not favor party success at the peril or mutilation of the form, structure, and genius of our Government."

Mr. Cox's principal efforts were made on subjects connected with the tariff. He is a strongly pronounced free-trader. Graduating under Dr. Wayland at Brown University, he early became interested in discussions of that nature. One of his prize essays at college, which was successful, was upon the "repeal of the corn laws" in 1846. During the war, while a member from Ohio, and subsequently, as a member from New York, he was constant in protesting against the doctrine of "protection," presenting his views with elaborate statistics. The revenue reform he contemplates is sweeping, believing, as he does, that the Custom-House system is a perpetual fraud on the body of the people, who are consumers.

JOHN M. CREBS.

OHN M. CREBS was born at Middleburg, Loudon County, Virginia, April 9, 1830. When seven years old he went with his father to Illinois, where he received a common-school education, and during his minority worked upon a farm. At the age of twenty-one he commenced the study of law, and in the following year entered upon its practice, settling in White County, Illinois. In 1862 he entered the Union army as Lieutenant-Colonel, participated in all the Mississippi movements until the capture of Vicksburg, and afterward commanded a cavalry brigade in the Department of the Gulf. After the war he returned to the practice of his profession, and in 1868 was elected, as a Democrat, a Representative from Illinois to the Forty-first Congress.

In this Congress Mr. Crebs served on the Committee on Agriculture. He participated in the debates upon Reconstruction, Appropriations, Tariff, the Tax Bill, and other important subjects. In his speech on the North Pacific Railroad Bill Mr. Crebs presented the following important statement:

I fear not to assert that should the bill be passed in its present shape you transfer to this company a territory almost equal in extent to the two States of Illinois and Indiana combined. You place in the hands of a corporation an empire in extent. You say you do it to open up new lands and new countries for settlement; but at the same time you place the country thus opened up in the control of a soulless corporation, and place the hardy pioneer desiring to seek a home in the West entirely at its mercy, and at such mercy only as the wolf gives to the lamb.

In his speech on "Tax and Tariff," after proposing an amendment providing that salt should be admitted free of duty, Mr. Crebs proceeded to urge that the tax on salt was on one of the great necessities of life, and was a disgrace to our country and to the civilization of the age.

SHELBY M. CULLOM.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Cullom was assigned to the Select Committee on the Ninth Census, and to the Chairmanship of the Committee on Territories. He favored the abolition of the Franking Privilege. On the question of the Tariff he seems to have favored what might be viewed as a middle ground between extremes :

We are compelled to have a tariff for revenue or inaugurate a system of taxation which the people would not stand, and so far as I am concerned I have no desire to put out the fires in the iron-furnace or foundry, or to close the doors of the factory, or hinder the proper development of the great natural resources of our country in any valuable department of industry. . . . The encouraging hand of the Government should be given when necessary to protect American labor against the pauper labor of other nations. But, sir, under this beguiling pretext of home protection of work and labor and American industry we should not be led into extravagant legislation in favor of one class of people and against the rest. The greedy manufacturer who has grown rich under a high tariff and great demand for his goods during the war must not be allowed to take possession of the legislation of this country at the expense of the struggling millions.

In his speech upon the Apportionment of Representation Mr. Cullom favored a large representation in the popular branch of Congress. After glancing at the views held by the old statesmen on this subject he said :

I may truthfully say that they were in favor of a small ratio and large representation ; that though the expense attending the compensation of the members might be somewhat increased, it would yet be trifling compared with the great advantages that would result from it ; that large representation would, while it might increase the expense in one respect, be productive of true economy in the defeat of corrupt and extravagant measures. The expense of the civil departments of the Government is but a drop in the bucket compared with the mass of expenditures resulting from bad legislation. The more intimately and closely the Representative is identified with the people who send him here, the more likely is he to carry out their views and insure their confidence and respect.

Men say that this House is too large already ; that make it larger and you make it a mob. I confess, Mr. Chairman, that to a stranger it appears confusion worse confounded sometimes. There is much confusion and disorder ; it is a little lacking in that dignity that ought to characterize a legislative assembly. Yet, judging from results in dispatch of business and in the character of legislation, I think we have nothing to fear from comparison with smaller legislative bodies. If there is any principle that gives this Government a distinctive character and makes it republican in fact in contrast with other nations of the world, it is its representative character.

CHESTER B. DARRALL.



CHESTER B. DARRALL was born in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, June 24, 1842. Left an orphan at the early age of six years, and being one of a large family, he learned while a mere boy that he must expect in his future life to depend on his own exertions. Through the teaching of his excellent mother he learned to love what was right and dislike what was wrong, and the lessons thus early impressed upon him have always guided him in life.

Attending the common and normal schools, he began teaching at the age of fifteen, and soon had the reputation of being one of the best teachers in the county. Afterward he studied medicine, still teaching for support during the winters, and graduated at the Albany Medical College before he was twenty-one. On graduating he was immediately appointed Assistant Surgeon of the 86th New York Volunteers, with which regiment he served during the whole war, having been promoted to the rank of Surgeon.


At the close of the war Mr. Darrall entered upon the practice of his profession in Ohio, but his health being bad he determined to try a change of climate and of pursuits. He therefore emigrated to Louisiana and engaged in mercantile business and planting.

In April, 1868, he was elected to the State Senate from St. Mary Parish. In November of the same year he was the Republican candidate for Congress in the 3d Congressional District, but owing to intimidation and violence in a portion of the district the Democratic candidate, Mr. Bailey, had a large majority. Mr. Darrall contested, however, and on showing that the majority of his opponent was obtained by wholesale murders and intimidation, the House adopted the Report of the Committee, excluding the violent portion of the district entirely from the count, and in July, 1870, Mr. Darrall obtained his seat.



C. B. Warrall

NOAH DAVIS.

 NOAH DAVIS was born in Haverhill, New Hampshire. His parents emigrated in 1825 to Western New York, and settled at Albion, Orleans County, which is still the residence of Mr. Davis. He graduated from a common district school into a law office. After a course of thorough training for his profession he was admitted to practice as an attorney in 1841, and as counselor in 1844. He was appointed in the spring of 1857 a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York to fill a vacancy, and in the fall of that year was elected for a full term of eight years, at the expiration of which he was re-elected for a second term. He resigned in the fall of 1868, and was elected a Representative from the Twenty-eighth District of New York to the Forty-first Congress.

He was appointed to the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. He served until the close of the second session, when he resigned and was succeeded by Hon. Charles H. Holmes.

No one, during so short a career in the House, has taken a more influential position, or acted a more prominent part, in the proceedings than Mr. Davis. As a member of the Judiciary Committee he had charge of the bill to establish a uniform system of naturalization, pending which he made a speech, of which the following is an extract:

The great difficulties which have grown up in connection with naturalization, nearly all the frauds and troubles in respect to it, have arisen from the fact that in the heated political contests to which we are subject in this country each party is seeking by every effort in its power to carry the foreign vote, and to bring aliens to the courts for naturalization, and to use every possible influence upon them for the purpose ultimately of bringing them to the polls. A system of naturalization which is governed by such motives cannot, in the long run, be otherwise than dishonest.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Dawes held the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations, and was also a member of the Select Committee on the Postal Telegraph Lines.

Early in the first session of this Congress, and pending the bill for the reconstruction of Mississippi, Mr. Dawes addressed the House in a highly interesting speech, in which he briefly traced the entire history of reconstruction from the first attempts in this line of legislation under the auspices of President Lincoln, together with the results of the several measures adopted.

Pending the Consular and Diplomatic Bill, an amendment having been proposed to provide for a minister to Rome, Mr. Dawes remarked as follows :

I am opposed to this amendment because I do not consider that any of the reasons for which ministers are appointed demand the appointment of a minister to Rome. When we accredit ministers to Turkey or Greece, and other such nations, we accredit ministers to nations with whom we have commercial intercourse. With Rome we have no such intercourse whatever. Rome sends no minister here. It is a power which is unique and *sui generis*, and has nothing to do with the commercial world at all. It is, to a great extent, a religious power, to which we never accredit a minister for any reason whatever, and the chief ground upon which my colleague urges the appointment is the fact that this is a spiritual power. The only method of preserving peace and harmony with such a power is to abstain from all political connection with it whatever. . . . We abolished the mission some years ago because it was found entirely useless, and wholly upon our side, without reciprocation on their part.

Mr. Dawes advocated a careful attention to the coast fortifications of the country, and inquired of the House whether they were willing to take all the risks that will follow of laying bare their sea-coasts. "A single iron-clad gunboat of Spain," said he, "or any other foreign power, can enter any of our harbors upon our sea-coast and destroy the towns and shipping of that harbor, and in the present condition of some of the defenses of those harbors nothing could be done to resist them." In the course of the same discussion Mr. Dawes added :

Why, Mr. Chairman, but a short time since there met in London an association of the most distinguished military men in England to discuss the question of the defenses of America, and they stated that if we showed the strength and

skill we did during our war we might overrun Canada and the British possessions, but with their ships they could enter any harbor on our sea-coast and destroy it; that we were utterly exposed on our sea-coast, and though we might gain Canada, we would acquire it at the sacrifice of the finest sea-port towns in the world, and would pay dearly for our prize.

On the question whether by the force of treaties alone money could be taken from the Treasury without the consent of the House, the voice of Mr. Dawes was very decidedly in the negative. "For the House," said he, "quietly to yield to such an assertion of power is entirely to surrender their rights, and it seems to me that if that is to be the doctrine there would be no further occasion for the House of Representatives."


Mr. Dawes in this Congress favored the repeal of the Civil-Tenure Act and the abolition of the Franking Privilege.

The occasion in the Forty-first Congress when Mr. Dawes appeared most prominently before the country was in January, 1870, when he arraigned his own party administration for want of suitable economy in the public expenditures. The House having under consideration the bill for the transfer of the Philadelphia Navy-yard to League Island, Mr. Dawes made a speech in which occurred the following important statement:

And while I know the ungracious position I occupy, I propose to speak plainly, but to speak truly, to my party friends on this side of the House. I know that while "faithful are the wounds of a friend," there is not much ease remaining to the friend who inflicts them. Now, sir, what did Andrew Johnson, in the last year of his administration, estimate that he would carry on this Government for? He estimated that he would carry it on for \$303,000,000, and we cut down the appropriations \$20,000,000 below his estimate; but his own estimate of the cost of carrying on the Government, which the people at the polls declared to be profligate and unreasonable, was \$303,000,000.

Now, sir, what does our own administration estimate that it will carry on the Government for for the next year? The sum estimated for is \$331,097,174 62, an increase over the last estimate of the administration of Andrew Johnson for 1860-70 of \$28,097,174 62. But we cut down his estimates \$20,000,000, so that the exact difference between this book of estimates for the present administration and the appropriations made the last year of Andrew Johnson's administration is \$49,682,537 01. It is due to the Post-Office Department to say that there is an error of \$7,000,000 in the footing, which reduces the amount to some \$42,000,000.

EDWARD DEGENER.

 DWARD DEGENER was born in Brunswick, Germany, October 20, 1809. He was liberally educated in the schools of which his native country is so justly proud, and, as if to fit him for his duties as an American citizen and statesman, a portion of his academic training was procured in England.

While yet in his native land he participated prominently in political affairs. He was twice member of a legislative body in Anhalt-Dessau, and was a member of the first German Parliament in Frankfort.

Desiring to live in a country where his ideas of political liberty might be more fully realized, he emigrated to America, and settled in Sisterdale, Texas, as a farmer. Like most of his countrymen who come to the United States he had no sympathy with slavery, which seemed to him something strangely inconsistent and unnatural under a Republican Government. Having such views, he of course gave no countenance to the Rebellion, and was court-martialed and imprisoned for his devotion to the Union cause.

After his release he took up his residence in the city of Antonio, where he turned his attention to mercantile pursuits, taking at the same time a deep interest in public affairs, and participating actively in politics.

He was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 9,312 votes against 9,240 for Haynes, and 949 for Varnell, both Democrats. Taking his seat in the House of Representatives March 31, 1870, Mr. Degener was appointed a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and participated actively in the proceedings of the Forty-first Congress, which had more than half elapsed when he entered upon his duties.

JOHN T. DEWEESE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress, to which he was re-elected by a majority of 1,240 votes, Mr. Deweese served on the Committee on Indian Affairs, and was Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and the War of 1812.

The Committee on Military Affairs having been instructed to inquire into the alleged sale of cadetships, on the first of March, 1870, reported that Mr. Deweese, in making an appointment to the Naval Academy, violated the law which requires that an appointee shall be an actual resident of the district from which appointed, and that he was influenced in his action by improper pecuniary considerations. Mr. Deweese having resigned pending the report of the Committee in his case, they recommended the adoption of a resolution declaring that his conduct in the premises had been such as to show him to be unworthy of a seat in the House of Representatives, and is therefore condemned as conduct unworthy a Representative of the people. This resolution passed the House, yeas, 173, not voting, 47. During the investigation Mr. Deweese made the following statement to the Committee:

Having been sufficiently advised of the turn affairs have taken in my case, I desire to say this to you: that at the time I got this I did not think of doing it. I was not aware that I was violating any of the privileges or rules of the House. As soon as I was aware that I had done wrong, I endeavored to make return as far as I could. I returned the money immediately; and I have tendered my resignation to the Governor of my State, believing that it is a duty of a member of Congress to make vacant the place he has disgraced. What I did was done openly and boldly, not knowing I had done a particle of wrong. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy were both aware of what I did. I did not do it from any mercenary motives.

One Captain Coombs, who had done me a great many favors, had a boy, and he asked me to give him the appointment. Not a word was said about money at all. After it was done they offered me \$1,000. I refused to take it. Some two or three days afterward the young man brought me \$500, and afterward \$500 more. I never endeavored to keep what I had done covered up. If I had wished to evade it I could have sent the witnesses away. I refused to do it, although urged to do it by my friends. But I told them, no; that I had done wrong, and done it without thought and unknowingly, and that I was not going to compromise myself by endeavoring to suppress the testimony. Hundreds have done the same thing before and will do it again. I applied to the young man and returned the \$500. If it were necessary I could show that I had been offered by two or three different persons one thousand dollars.

OLIVER J. DICKEY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In a speech of July 19, 1870, Mr. Dickey made a brief but forcible and effective reply to the charges of extravagance which had been brought against the administration of President Grant by Mr. Dawes, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, of which he was a member. He showed that Mr. Dawes had done great injustice to "the other end of the Avenue;" that the estimates submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury were in general estimates for executing the laws of Congress, such as for the payment of pensions, the erection of public buildings which had been authorized by Congress, river and harbor improvements, expenses of public printing, and judgments against the United States rendered by the Court of Claims, in accordance with the acts of Congress. Mr. Dickey then added:

Here just let me make the remark that the gentleman from Massachusetts did injustice, unintentional I am sure, to the present Administration when he said that it had exceeded the estimates of the administration of Andrew Johnson, the profligacy of which was one of the main reasons why it was dismissed by the people from the White House. The last year Andrew Johnson's administration was running, the estimates of his Secretary of the Treasury for the year ending the 30th of June, 1869, were \$372,000,000. Congress appropriated and the administration of Andrew Johnson expended in its last year \$325,000,000. It is true that after estimating \$372,000,000 for the Johnson administration and expending \$325,000,000, Congress, under the estimates of the Department, appropriated only \$303,000,000 for the expenses of the incoming administration of General Grant. Johnson's Secretary of the Treasury made those reduced estimates, not for that Administration and for its friends, but for the succeeding Administration and his enemies. He estimated, and Congress cut down the appropriations. Some people thought it was wise, and some people thought otherwise. An adverse Administration estimated for the present Administration only \$303,000,000, when it had itself expended \$325,000,000! Perhaps it was well not to give the incoming Administration this opportunity to reduce the expenses of the Government.

Now, sir, I will go with the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, or as far as any man upon this floor, in cutting down the appropriations for expenditures of the Government; but I will do it manfully, by repealing the laws already enacted, and putting a stop to all works not required by the necessities of the public service.

Mr. Dickey seldom occupied the time of the House with set and formal speeches, but frequently made brief and incisive remarks—sometimes giving a turn to discussion by making a suggestive inquiry of a speaker upon the floor.

EDWARD F. DICKINSON.




EDWARD F. DICKINSON was born in Fremont, Ohio, January 21, 1829. He received a liberal education, graduating at St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, Ohio; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and successfully practiced the profession in his native town.

Soon after the breaking out of the war he entered the Union army. He served more than three years as lieutenant and regimental quartermaster of the 8th Ohio Infantry. At the close of his military service he returned to the practice of his profession.

His first civil office was that of Judge of the Sandusky County Probate Court, to which he was elected in 1866. He was, in 1868, elected a Representative from Ohio to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, receiving 16,322 votes against 14,677 votes for Gibson, Republican.

Taking his seat as a member of the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Dickinson was appointed a member of the Committee on Mines and Mining. He made no speeches. He introduced a number of bills of importance to the people of his district, such as a bill making an appropriation for the construction of a harbor at Port Clinton, Ohio; a bill relinquishing the title of the United States to certain ground in Fremont to the corporation of that place; a bill granting a pension to Susanna Snyder; and bills establishing post routes by way of Hartland to Olena, Ohio, and from Omar, by way of Reedtown and Weaver's Corners, to Bellevue, Ohio. He also introduced a joint resolution providing for the survey of the navigable portion of the Portage River, and a joint resolution requesting the President to restore J. L. O'Conner, late First Lieutenant 3d United States Cavalry, to his rank, and direct his name to be placed on the retired list.

JOSEPH DIXON.

 JOSEPH DIXON was born in Greene County, North Carolina, April 9, 1828. His father, Rev. John H. Dixon, was a Baptist minister, who died in 1843, when his son was fifteen years old. His mother had died a few years before. He was inured to labor, spending every spring and summer during his youth at work in the fields. Subsequently, by doing the duties of clerk in a country store and teaching school, he obtained means to acquire an academic education.

Mr. Dixon's first entry upon business life was as a merchant at Fountain Hill, North Carolina, with his uncle, as a member of the firm of W. & J. Dixon. In 1851 he bought the plantation upon which he now resides, and engaged actively and successfully in agriculture, which is still his pursuit.

Mr. Dixon was a Whig in politics, and as such in 1852 he was chosen a magistrate. He was an enemy of secession, and opposed the North Carolina Convention of 1861, which was called in the interests of that heresy. He took a firm stand in opposition to the Rebellion, and in the first Union meeting held in the State he was a member of the Committee on Resolutions. In 1864, '65 he was Judge of the County Court. In 1868 he was elected to the State Legislature, in which he was Chairman of the Committee on Claims.

In August, 1870, Mr. Dixon was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress from North Carolina as a Republican, to succeed David Heaton, deceased, and took his seat in the House of Representatives December 5, 1870. He served on the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. During the brief remainder of the Forty-first Congress there was little opportunity for a new member to participate prominently in legislation had there been the inclination.



Joseph Dixon

NATHAN F. DIXON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Dixon, in the Forty-first Congress, reported several bills from the Committee on Commerce, and took part in important discussions upon subjects with which he was conversant in that capacity. He reported and had charge of an important measure, which passed the House, re-organizing the marine hospital service, and providing for the relief of sick and disabled seamen. In advocating the donation of the marine hospital at Natchez to the State of Mississippi, Mr. Dixon stated that the marine hospitals had many of them been built in places where they were unnecessary, mainly for the purpose of building up the towns where they were situated. Where there might be perhaps five or ten disabled sailors to be provided for, there would be a hospital built at an expense of fifty or sixty thousand dollars, and kept up at an expense of four or five thousand dollars a year. "Since 1846 there has been appropriated annually from twenty-five thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for that purpose, and the necessity for this appropriation grows in a great measure out of the large expenditures for these marine hospitals that are unnecessary."

Near the beginning of the first session Mr. Dixon reported from his Committee a Senate bill to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska, with an amendment. He declared the measure to be one of great interest to the Government, as well as to the inhabitants of the two islands acquired by the purchase of Alaska. It would secure to the Government \$150,000 without a single dollar of expenditure. The bill, meeting with considerable opposition, was re-committed to the Committee, and more than a year elapsed, during which much testimony was considered, and in June, 1870, the Committee reported a substitute, prohibiting the killing of seals except during four specified months of each year, and providing that an annual rental of \$50,000 should be paid the United States for the privilege of taking seals in Alaskan waters; and, in addition, a tax of two dollars was laid upon each seal taken and shipped from the islands during the continuance of the lease.

Mr. Dixon was not a candidate for re-election, and March 4, 1871, after ten years of service in Congress, he retired to private life.

OLIVER H. DOCKERY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)


The most noteworthy speeches of Mr. Dockery in the Forty-first Congress were made near its close. In his speech on the Condition of the South he said :

Allowance should be made for the disturbed condition of southern society, the disintegration of her social structure, the destruction of her property, the desolation of her homes, the loss of her sons, the demoralization of her people, the recklessness engendered of the rights of person and property, ever an inseparable incident of all wars, but universally to the vanquished, at least for a time, exacting in its demands and fearful in its results. . . .

Mr. Dockery then proceeded to urge the payment of various claims against the Government held by Southern people, such as the debt due the assistant marshals who took the census of 1860, the amount due for carrying the mails previous to the war, all of \$1,000,000, "money faithfully earned and badly needed," and the claims of the loyal people of the South for stores taken by the army. He denounced the joint resolution of March 2, 1867, forbidding the payment of all claims accruing prior to the 12th of April, 1861, save on condition of severe proof of loyalty, as "the most cruel and keenest weapons ever forged in the fires of repudiative and vindictive legislation." He described the policy of the Government as a species of repudiation, and said: "Rebellion and repudiation are twin sisters: the former brought on the war, the latter entails on the South the miseries of the contest."

In his speech on the bill to establish a system of National Education Mr. Dockery acknowledged the importance of making liberal provision for the education of the masses, and yet he opposed the pending bill as imposing too great a financial burden upon the impoverished South, and placing too much power in the hands of the President and his appointees. He proposed a substitute for the pending bill, donating for common-school purposes a quantity of land to be apportioned to each State equal to seventy-five thousand acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress. After stating that 1,307,115,448 acres of public land remained unsurveyed, he said: "Out of this immense territory the small pittance asked for in this bill would be unknown and unfelt, and yet with proper management what mighty results would inevitably follow!"

JOSEPH B. DONLEY.

 JOSEPH BENTON DONLEY was born in Mount Morris, Greene County, Pennsylvania, October 10, 1838. His parents were natives of the same county, his father being of Scotch-Irish, and his mother of Welsh-English descent. After passing his early years on his father's farm, at the age of seventeen he matriculated at Waynesburg College, at which institution he graduated in 1859. During this period he spent two winters in teaching public school. While at college he bore off the original orator's honor in one of the annual contests between two of the literary societies. After graduating he went to Illinois and engaged in the profession of teaching—first in a public school in Abingdon, and afterward in Abingdon College, which last position he held at the breaking out of the Rebellion. In 1862 a company was raised in that locality, in which he enlisted, was mustered in as a private, and afterward promoted to the captaincy, and assigned to the 83d Illinois Infantry. In this capacity he served during the period of three years, actively engaged with his company and regiment during the entire time, and participating in all its skirmishes and battles. At the expiration of his term of service he was mustered out, July, 1865, with his regiment at Nashville, Tennessee, and returned to his native county. After a short sojourn there he entered the law department of Albany University, and graduated in May, 1866. Then returning to Greene County, he entered into the gubernatorial canvass of 1866 as an active supporter of his late comrade-in-arms, General John W. Geary. His eloquent efforts in this campaign attracted the attention of the people, and laid the foundation for that popularity which led to his subsequent political preferment. Although reared in the Democratic school, even while yet a boy taking an active part in politics, when the Kansas-

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Nebraska Bill was forced upon the country his rigid sense of justice revolted at its enormities, and, immediately taking strong grounds against it, he was from that time known as an active antagonist of the Democratic party and an earnest anti-slavery advocate. His first vote was cast for Lincoln and Hamlin in 1860, though long before his majority he had achieved a reputation as a stump speaker both in Pennsylvania and Illinois.


In the spring of 1867 Mr. Donley engaged in the practice of law in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, and in May of the same year was appointed by Chief-Justice Chase Register in Bankruptcy for the Twenty-fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, which position he held until March, 1869. In August, 1868, he was nominated for Congress by the Republican party of his district, comprising the counties of Lawrence, Beaver, Washington, and Greene; and, having been elected, took his seat March 4, 1869. During his term of office he was known as a Radical Republican, a supporter of the Reconstruction Policy and the Fifteenth Amendment, and an unflinching advocate of a protective tariff. The following is an extract from Mr. Donley's speech on the bill to promote the construction of the Cincinnati Southern Railway:

In these latter days every thing is unconstitutional, with a certain class of politicians, that savors of freedom within our limits, whether to the person of the oppressed or the movements of commerce; that seeks to strengthen our Union and make us a nationality, strong and respected at home, admired and feared abroad.

I love my own State, am proud of her resources, great wealth, and sturdy people; but I confess that I love my country more, and ever regard her interests as paramount; and, for one, I am glad to see the growing sentiment which demands that the powers of the nation shall be exercised through Congress, and that our Union become, under the Constitution, a strong national Government. If there be danger of going too far toward centralization, as some good people hold, the danger is at the worst remote, and should not prevent the correction of the evils that grew out of the pernicious States Rights doctrine that prevailed before the Rebellion; nor the establishment of the nation's right to protect its own life and the lives of its citizens, to see that the laws are executed, that each State has a republican form of government, and to regulate the commerce among the several States.

In my judgment Congress not only has the right to charter railways to run through different States, but to pass general laws regulating and controlling all such thoroughfares called into existence by State authority.

PETER M. DOX.

ETER M. DOX was born in Geneva, Ontario County, New York, September 11, 1813. He was educated at the Geneva Academy, and at Hobart College, Geneva, where he graduated in August, 1833. He studied law, and engaged in the practice of his profession in his native town. His first political position was that of member of the Legislature of New York for Ontario County in 1841-42. He was subsequently Judge of the Ontario County Court.

He removed to Madison County, Alabama, in 1855, and engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1865 he was unanimously elected as a Union man to represent his county in the convention called for the revision of the State Constitution. He took an active part in the restoration of the State to the Union, and while this work was being accomplished he was elected a Representative from Alabama to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, receiving 6,047 votes against 4,933.

On the 7th of December, 1869, Mr. Dox was admitted to his seat in the House, taking the test oath prescribed by the act of July 2, 1862. He was appointed on the Committee on Elections. On the 19th of January he submitted a resolution authorizing the Committee on Agriculture to inquire into the expediency of establishing a national school of agriculture and mechanic arts. He introduced a bill for the removal of all political disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. Subsequently, pending the Senate bill to relieve certain persons from legal and political disabilities, Mr. Dox gave it his support, although he regarded it as very far from the measure he would deem it not only politic for the Government to pass, but eminently just to the people of the South and of the whole country.

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RICHARD T. W. DUKE.

RICHARD T. W. DUKE is a native of Virginia, born in Albemarle County June 6, 1822. He attended school until eighteen years of age, and after teaching one year he entered the Virginia Military Institute as a cadet, and graduated the second in his class in 1845. He subsequently read law, teaching school at the same time, and then attended the law lectures of the University of Virginia, where he graduated in 1850. Entering on the practice of his profession, he was in 1858 elected Commonwealth's Attorney for the County of Albemarle, and continued in that office until 1869, when all the State officers of Virginia were removed. He was elected, as a Conservative, a Representative from Virginia to the Forty-first Congress.

Mr. Duke took his seat in the House December 5, 1870, and his principal speech, delivered a few days following, was on the subject of Amnesty. His opening remarks were as follows:

I would in the outset, Mr. Speaker, ask, Why is it that one so humble as myself should now occupy the seat once filled by a Rives, a Gilmer, and John Randolph of Roanoke? Is it not because your party, Tarquin-like, have beheaded the tall poppies and have permitted only the humbler to stand? By your legislation you have deprived the country of the services of those whose long familiarity with political questions, and whose large experience in public life, tempered as it has been by the rough school of adversity, eminently fitted them for service in the councils of the nation. You have compelled our State to intrust her concerns either to those who are alien to her interests and her feelings, or to those who are inexperienced in the conduct of public affairs. I would ask, Why not extend amnesty to all? why single out those whom you call the leaders? They are not more responsible for the war than the rest of us. . . . Whatever may be our faults, you cannot deny to us some degree of courage, and, as brave men, we do not ask that the "sins" of the many shall be expiated by the vicarious punishment of the few, those few, too, not more guilty than the rest of us.

ISAAC H. DUVALL.

 SAAC H. DUVALL was born in Wellsbury, Virginia, September 1, 1824. After receiving a common-school education he left his home and went into the Southwestern Territories, where he spent several years among the wild Indians. He visited over thirty tribes in their hunting grounds, and assisted in collecting Indians for the negotiation of the treaties of 1846. He acted as Secretary of the Commission, for the duties of which he was fitted by his knowledge of four of the Indian languages, which during his residence among them of about five years he had acquired sufficiently to enable him to trade with them.

In the winter of 1848-49 Mr. Duvall raised a company of fifty-two men, with whom he crossed the plains and mountains, arriving in California early in 1849. This was the first organized company that crossed the plains from Texas, traveling the entire distance by compass without any road or trail to follow. After spending nearly three years in California and Oregon Mr. Duvall went to Central America, and thence to Cuba to join Lopez in the insurrection of 1851, arriving there a few days after the capture and garroting of Lopez. He escaped and returned to his home in Virginia after an absence of fourteen years. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, in which he was occupied until the breaking out of the civil war.

He entered the United States volunteer service June 1, 1861, as Major of the First Regiment of West Virginia Infantry. He was subsequently Colonel of the Ninth West Virginia Infantry, and was promoted to be Major-General by brevet.

After the close of the war he served two years in the State Senate of West Virginia, and was two years Adjutant General of the State. In 1868 he was elected a Representative from West Virginia to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican. During this Congress he served on the Committee on Territories and the Committee on Mines and Mining.

DAVID P. DYER.



DAVID PATTERSON DYER was born in Henry County, Virginia, February 12, 1838. He was the youngest of twelve children. His father, David Dyer, was a native of Virginia, and was for many years a member of the House of Delegates, and also of the Senate of that State. In 1841 he removed with his family to the State of Missouri, and settled in Lincoln County, where he lived to the time of his death, which occurred in 1844. David received such education as the schools in that locality furnished, and was in 1856 sent to college at St. Charles, Missouri. In 1858 he went to the adjacent county of Pike—which has ever since been his residence—and began the study of law in the office of the Hon. James O. Broadhead.

In March, 1860, Mr. Dyer was admitted to the bar, and was that year elected District Attorney for the Third Judicial Circuit of the State. On the 15th of November, 1860, he was married to Lizzie Chambers Hunt, second daughter of the Hon. Ezra Hunt, of Pike County, Missouri.

In 1860 Mr. Dyer gave his first vote for Stephen A. Douglas for President. When the Rebellion broke out he took firm and decided grounds for the Union. In 1862 he was a candidate for the Legislature on the Emancipation Platform, and was elected. In the State House of Representatives he served on the Judiciary Committee, and having been re-elected in 1864, he again served in the same important position. In 1864 he voted for Abraham Lincoln, and was known as a firm friend of his administration.

Mr. Dyer recruited and organized the 49th Missouri Volunteer Infantry, which he commanded during the war, serving a portion of the time in the 16th Army Corps, under Major-General A. J. Smith.



D. P. Dyer

In 1866 Mr. Dyer was chosen Secretary of the Missouri Senate, and served as such until the spring of 1868. In the fall of that year he was a candidate for Congress against William F. Switzer, and was elected by 437 majority. Mr. Switzer contested the election, and the decision of the House was in favor of Mr. Dyer. In 1870 he was a candidate for the Forty-second Congress, but was defeated through the divisions which occurred in the ranks of the Republican party in Missouri.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Dyer served on the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Territories. During his term in Congress he made but few speeches, and those only upon questions affecting the interests of the people of the West and South. Such was his speech of June 7, 1870, on the bill to increase banking facilities, which he began by saying, "There has not been, nor is it at all likely that there will be before Congress at its present session, a measure which so immediately interests the people of the Western and Southern States as a proposition to redistribute the national bank currency, and to provide for an additional issue equal to the increased demand and necessity for it." At the same time he maintained that the pending measure defeated the very end the people of the West desired to accomplish, and put beyond all hope a correction of the unjust and unequal distribution of the currency. After proceeding at length with a powerful argument, and presenting a strong array of facts and figures, Mr. Dyer concluded as follows :

Give to the West the share of currency to which her millions of enterprising people, her constantly developing wealth, her exhaustless and magnificent resources, her infant and struggling manufactories, and her magnificent area entitle her, and it will not be long before the music of the plane, the hammer, and the anvil will be heard in foundry and machine-shop from one end of that great country to the other. Do this, and the farmers on our western prairies will cheerfully turn and cultivate the soil, which must otherwise lie idle. Do this, and business of all kinds will receive a new impetus throughout the West and South, and will have a tendency to satisfy the people, who feel, and justly feel, that they have been unfairly dealt with. . . . I seek to create no alarm among the banks enjoying this monopoly, but unless something is done to correct this wrong and evil the people will brush away this whole banking system as they would the cobweb of a single night.

JACOB H. ELA.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Ela served on three Committees—Claims, Expenditures in the Interior Department, and Expenditures on Public Buildings. In his speech on the reduction of taxation Mr. Ela remarked that our position was that of a nation taxing itself to such an extent as to stagnate commerce, and cause the decline of shipping both by the cost of ship-building and inability for producing the merchandise needed for the exchanges of commerce. To realize a more desirable condition of affairs he insisted that every unnecessary expenditure must be stopped, and all wasteful grants of lands and subsidies for building railroads through wilderness country must cease. “We must have,” said he, “no more purchases of useless icebergs or tornadoes, enter into no entangling arrangements for lodgments upon foreign territory which will draw after them large naval squadrons and military stations. . . . We must reduce the interest and taxes which now bear oppressively upon industry, and threaten the suspension of business and the employment of labor.”

Mr. Ela's speech of June 1, 1870, touching the Income Tax, is perhaps as exhaustive and complete as any delivered during the session favoring the retention of this tax. He considered it one of the most just of taxes, affecting no person not in easy circumstances, while most other national taxes are drawn from people who are struggling for the means of support and without being able to acquire two-thirds the income which is exempted to the payers of income taxes. It is paid by those most benefited. It comes mainly from the wealth of the country, from the influential classes, tending to produce in such a stricter watch upon government expenditures. It is paid outright and by comparatively few persons, and with comparatively small expense for assessing and collecting.

It is a tax that does not increase the cost of food or clothing, or the comforts of life, or the homes which shelter the people. It cannot be shifted off upon others to deprive them of comforts they may not otherwise enjoy. It does not restrict or cripple trade of any kind. It is a burden upon no man's personal industry. It does not increase the cost of our ships or the ability to sail them, neither does it restrict in any way the commerce which gives them employment.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Eldridge was continued on the Committee on the Judiciary. Being among the members of longest experience and greatest ability on the Democratic side of the House, he made frequent speeches in defense of the views of the minority. He was constantly on the alert, ready to take advantage of errors or oversights on the part of his political opponents. He generally presented and defended the views of the minority on all the questions which came up from the important Committee of which he was a member.

Among Mr. Eldridge's many able speeches during this Congress was one delivered June 9, 1870, on the bill to establish a uniform system of naturalization, from which the following extract is given:

And this grand exodus is still going on. Headed by the Irish and the German, every nation of Europe is sending her recruits to swell the prodigious stream of human life as it flows across the ocean and over the Continent, scattering over and covering our vast domain like the leaves of the forest. The last year brought us the gigantic army of more than three hundred and fifty-two thousand souls. It is indeed an army grand and mighty as an "army with banners," come to conquer not us or our children, but to join us and them in subduing a continent, and conquering the highest and noblest civilization of the ages.

Their banners are inscribed with words of "peace and good-will to men," and they come to cast in their lot with ours, and share with us the great inheritance of civil and religious liberty. They come with stout hearts and strong minds, to share the evils, bear the burdens, and enjoy with us the blessings of this New World. They abandon the laws, the traditions, the habits, and the associations of their ancestors, and conform obediently and voluntarily to the Constitution and laws of the Republic. There need be no fears that they will overrun the land and outnumber the natives. They have done this already.

If their purpose and mission were to overthrow our civilization, overrun and conquer the land by their numbers, the work would already be accomplished. But they come animated with the same spirit of liberty, imbued with the same love of free government, and inspired with the same high hopes and lofty aspirations for the glory and renown of this, our common country, that filled the founders of the Republic. Let the intolerant traducer, too, stand confounded when he charges that they are paupers, sloughed and rejected by the over-peopled countries of Europe, come to eat out and destroy our substance. All our past history and experience are against him. It is well ascertained that by the three hundred and fifty-two thousand souls immigrating annually, the country actually gains more than a million dollars a day, and that immigration within the last twenty-five years has increased the national wealth more than five thousand million dollars.

But immigration has done and is doing vastly more than this for the United States. It should not be overlooked that as the vast tide flows on from the Atlantic to the Pacific it leaves here and there and all along the stout-hearted farmer and the sturdy and industrious mechanic, whose labor and enterprise are adding other millions to the taxable property and wealth of the country. The forests fall, and dwellings of comfort and luxury are raised up everywhere as if by magic, and fruitful, productive, and luxuriant immigrants' farms cover the broad prairies, the valleys, and the mountain sides from one ocean to the other, the value of which no man can count. And this is not all. The immigrant is a part of the body-politic. He is not becoming, but he has already become, a part of ourselves. He is everywhere among us. He is in every department of the Government, filling positions in the States and in the Republic the most delicate, the most responsible, the most honorable, and the most sacred. He is of the skilled workmen, the teachers, the scholars, the poets, the historians, the men of science, the doctors, the lawyers, the clergy, the philosophers, and the statesmen. He fights our battles, commands our armies, makes our laws. He is here on the floor of this House and in the Senate. He gives impetus to thought, and energy and enterprise to science. He facilitates the execution of every species of private and public work. There is not a man here or elsewhere throughout all the land who does not feel his power; whose mind and heart have not been moved and influenced, whose moral, intellectual, and physical life has not been swayed and shaped by this contact, this meeting and mingling of nationalities on the American Continent. All these things are not susceptible of valuation.

The arrivals thus far indicate a large increase of this over former years. Ireland especially seems moved by a new impulse. Every vessel from there comes freighted with her hardy and stalwart sons, fleeing from sorrows and oppressions which they will no longer endure. Not content with sending her thousands, it seems as though she had made up her mind to come herself. Other countries on the Continent present similar indications of a large increase. So that with no new impediments thrown in the way, with no unfriendliness on our part, or hostile legislation to check or change the current as it is now setting in, we may well anticipate a most prosperous future in that regard.

Speaking in opposition to the Senate amendments to the Judiciary Bill, Mr. Eldridge said that if they were agreed to, and the judges should be appointed as proposed, they must necessarily be a political court. "I hope," said he, "that we shall never be guilty of organizing the court upon any such principle." While the vote was being taken on a resolution proposed by Mr. Garfield, setting the seal of condemnation upon any proposition to repudiate the public debt, Mr. Eldridge said: "I am not a repudiator, and never expect to be one; I pay my debts as far as I can, and I think the nation should do the same."

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Farnsworth was one of the most active and prominent members of the House. There was scarcely any important subject under consideration upon which he was not heard, always speaking forcibly and with the attention of the House.

As Chairman of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, Mr. Farnsworth introduced numerous bills, the most important of which was that abolishing the franking privilege, which passed the House January 27, 1870, by a vote of 174 yeas to 14 nays. In his speech to the House pending this Bill, Mr. Farnsworth said that he did not support the measure for the reasons given by the Postmaster-General, for he did not believe that the Department would make a saving of \$5,000,000, or any thing like it, by the abolition of the franking privilege. He gave as his main reason that the effect of its abolition would be to do away with the stupendous amount of public printing which is now done by order of Congress. Thus members would be relieved from labor which does them no good, and which does very few of their constituents any good.

As second on the Committee on Reconstruction, Mr. Farnsworth took a prominent part in legislation on that subject, generally taking a stand in opposition to the views of the Chairman of the Committee, General Butler, with whom he had numerous sharp personal controversies. The following is an instance, which involves, however, more pleasantry and less bitterness than some other of their rencounters: The first action which came from the Committee on Reconstruction in the Forty-first Congress was a joint resolution reported by Mr. Farnsworth, providing that removals from civil office in the provisional Government of Virginia, which under a previous act would take place immediately, should not be made until after the lapse of thirty days. Mr. Farnsworth made a speech in favor of this measure, and General Butler spoke against it, expressing his regret that "a sense of duty to the country" obliged him to do so. Mr. Maynard made an inquiry whether this came as a Reconstruction measure based upon what was known and understood as the Republican idea of Reconstruction, or whether it was

based upon the Democratic idea of Reconstruction, when the following conversation ensued :

Mr. Farnsworth. If the gentleman cannot make up his mind upon the merits of the measure itself, I do not see how I can possibly relieve him of his embarrassments, as there are Republicans on both sides of the question. The gentleman will be obliged, I suppose, to decide upon the question for himself. The measure comes here as the report of the Reconstruction Committee.

Mr. Maynard. As the gentleman knows, I am a very decided party man upon party questions, and I have a little curiosity in the point of view I have stated.

Mr. Farnsworth. I will tell my friend that I label this a Republican measure; perhaps some other gentlemen may not do so.

Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts. I am opposing it as a Democratic measure. [Laughter.]

Mr. Farnsworth. As I am an older Republican, my testimony is at least as good as that of my friend from Massachusetts.

Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts. Nothing is judged better by age except wine and cheese. [Laughter.]

Mr. Farnsworth. I believe I was a full-grown Republican when the gentleman from Massachusetts was in his Republican swaddling clothes. [Laughter.]

On the first day of the second session Mr. Farnsworth introduced a joint resolution for the immediate admission of Virginia without conditions, which was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction. On the 11th of January, 1870, Mr. Farnsworth presented as a privileged report from the Committee a Bill to admit Virginia to representation, which he remarked to the House was a "sort of compromise measure." This bill, after considerable discussion, in which Mr. Farnsworth bore an active part, passed the House, as modified by the Bingham amendment, January 14. Just one week later the bill passed the Senate with several amendments, with which Mr. Farnsworth moved that the House concur, although he thought "some of them bunglingly drawn," and likely to do more harm than good. He was unwilling to throw the question open to a sea of discussion again, and keep Virginia out from the representation which she was entitled to in Congress, which, he asserted, "would be a greater evil than to adopt the amendments of the Senate and have an end of it." The bill having finally passed both Houses, was approved January 27, 1870, and Virginia was restored to her place in the Union.

ORANGE FERRISS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Ferriss having been re-elected to the Forty-first Congress by a largely increased majority, was appointed a member of the Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States and of the Special Committee on the Postal Telegraph, and Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining.

He took a deep interest in the project of draining the silver mines of Nevada, located on the Comstock lode, by means of the "Sutro Tunnel." This work, which had been commenced by Adolph Sutro and his associates under a law passed in 1866, had, from the magnitude of the undertaking, assumed a national importance. The project was to drain the numerous mines on that celebrated lode by means of a tunnel of sufficient capacity to allow the laying down of a railway track, and the transportation through the tunnel of the ore from the base of the mines intersected into the valley of the Carson River, a distance of about five miles. The law of 1866 secured to the projectors of the enterprise, upon its completion, valuable rights. In the interest of large capitalists, who, as was alleged, had become part owners in several of the valuable mines likely to be intersected, a bill was introduced in the House to repeal the law of 1866. Mr. Ferriss, as Chairman of the Mining Committee, strenuously and successfully opposed its passage, leaving Mr. Sutro and his enterprising associates at liberty to prosecute to completion this great work, which it is believed will largely increase the mineral wealth and promote the mining interests of the country, and as an initial enterprise will determine the feasibility and true mode of deep mining, which otherwise is likely to prove unprofitable.

Mr. Ferriss continued throughout his congressional term a Republican of the radical school. He deprecated in the strongest terms the growing policy of universal amnesty.

Soon after the close of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Ferriss was appointed by the President one of the three Commissioners of Claims who were to receive, examine, and consider the claims of Southern loyalists for stores or supplies taken or furnished for the Union army, and report their proceedings to Congress.

THOMAS W. FERRY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Ferry, in the Forty-first Congress, was retained upon the Committees on Post-Offices and Post Roads and Naval Affairs, and served also on the Committee on the Rules. Pending the Indian Appropriation Bill Mr. Ferry addressed the House in an interesting speech, in the conclusion of which he remarked :

“It is the verification of what is known to be true by those who best understand the habits and character of the Indian that, naturally hospitable, generous, and just, dividing with friends so long as they have any thing to share, they become shy, treacherous, and murderous when their hospitality is violated, their generosity outraged, and the smoke of peace returned by cruelty and the torch of desolation. No wonder that such treatment causes the pipe to be changed into the tomahawk. Then the cry is, ‘Indian treachery!’ ‘Wanton massacre!’ to be succeeded by organized military forces for devastation and annihilation. This is no exaggeration, Mr. Speaker, but the recital of what very many know to be simple history. My experience of the Indians is (and I have been thrown somewhat among them) that, treated well and justly as human beings should be, citizen or Government would never have occasion to complain of or deal with Indian atrocities.”

In concluding his speech on the question of “Duty on Lumber” Mr. Ferry remarked :

The past invites us to a proper husbandry of all those elements which enter into the strength of the nation. Whatever conserves this should be cultivated and jealously guarded. Lumbering pursuits stimulate invention and fertility of resource which, with inseparable exposures to inclemencies of wind and water tending to harden and compact powers of endurance, eminently fit those thus employed for the perilous exigences of State, and the country called not in vain for their aid in her extremity. In our late struggle, in which the nation shook to the center in the throes of Rebellion, Michigan sent to the rescue twelve per cent. of her population, and her gallant sons were the honored van to capture the flying head of crushed conspiracy.

Having served six years in the House of Representatives, at the close of the Forty-first Congress Mr. Ferry was elected United States Senator from Michigan for the term of six years beginning March 4, 1871.

GUSTAVUS A. FINKELNBURG.



GUSTAVUS A. FINKELNBURG was born in Prussia, near Cologne, April 6, 1837. Coming to this country in early life, he received an academic education at St. Charles College, Missouri. He afterward studied law, graduating in the Law Department of Ohio University, Cincinnati, and was admitted to the Bar at St. Louis in 1860. He served in the Union army for the suppression of the Rebellion. In 1864 he was elected as a Radical to the Missouri State Legislature, and re-elected in 1866.

In 1868 he was elected, as a Republican, a Representative from Missouri to the Forty-first Congress, and on taking his seat in that body was assigned to the Committee on Commerce. He was an active member of the House, participating frequently in the current discussions. On the bill to revive navigation interests he expressed his views as follows :

I realize the importance of reviving our commercial marine, but I am totally opposed to the Government bounties and subsidies proposed to be granted by the bill now pending before the House. The true remedy, in my opinion, is not to be found in increased taxation, but rather in reducing the burdens which already depress this as well as every other interest in the country. To be sure, we can have a commercial marine by paying every man for building a ship, and afterward by paying him for running it; but I am inclined to believe that such a system is neither profitable to the country at large, nor just to the people who are expected to settle the bill.

In my own opinion the real evil which is destroying American shipping is to be found in an excess of that policy which we are asked by this bill still further to extend—the so-called policy of “protection.” Between the protection granted on the one hand to the manufacturer of material for ships, and upon the other hand to the ship-builder, the shipping interest itself has been crushed as it were between two mill-stones. . . . Whenever the laws of nature are infringed by over-wise legislation, attempting to improve the natural order of things by arbitrary regulations, those laws always revenge themselves. . . . Where shall we stop? If we go on protecting one industry from the protection of another until we have protected every thing to death, the epitaph will be, “Here lie American industry and commerce. Died of too much protection.”

JOHN FISHER.

JOHN FISHER was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, March 13, 1806. His youth was spent, as with most New England boys of that day, in working on his father's farm, his labor being occasionally interrupted by brief terms of attendance upon the common schools. He subsequently engaged in mercantile pursuits; but soon seeing a favorable opening for business in Hamilton, Canada, he went to that city, where he took charge of a manufacturing establishment. He was cordially received by the people, and was chosen by them a member of the City Council, and subsequently mayor.

After a residence of twenty-one years in Canada, in 1856 Mr. Fisher returned to the United States, and settled in Batavia, New York. He was appointed State Commissioner to superintend the erection of the buildings for the New York State Institution for the Blind in Batavia. He was President of a Fire Insurance Company.

Though he was not an aspirant for political honors, yet such was the high estimate which his fellow-citizens held of his honesty, integrity, and judgment, that they induced him to become a candidate for their suffrages, and he was in 1868 elected a Representative from New York to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 13,432 votes against 10,294 for Jackson, Democrat.

On taking his seat in the House he was assigned to the Committee on Agriculture. He made no speeches. He introduced a joint resolution, which passed both Houses, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to cause an inquiry to be made, for the information of Congress, relative to the extent and state of trade between the United States and the dependencies of Great Britain in North America.



Thomas Fitch

THOMAS FITCH.



THOMAS FITCH was born in New York City January 27, 1838. He comes of an old Connecticut family, his ancestors for several generations having lived near Norwich in that State. His father emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1812, and was a leading merchant in that city until 1838, when he returned to the North and settled in New York City. During the twenty-five years of his residence in Charleston he never sold a slave, and owned only three, all of whom he emancipated and sent to England.

Thomas entered upon a course of liberal education at the Wesleyan Academy, Massachusetts, but the business misfortunes of his father compelled him to leave school at the age of eleven years, after which he earned his own livelihood and was self-taught. Working on his father's small farm in Monmouth County, New Jersey, office boy and clerk in a dry-salter's store in New York City, sailor before the mast on a vessel plying between Liverpool and New Orleans, pushing from the Gulf of Mexico up to the "Great West," and clerking again in the city of Chicago, he was always adventurous, energetic, and eager for knowledge. The year 1856 found Mr. Fitch, then in his nineteenth year, acting as cashier and bookkeeper for a large grain and forwarding house in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In this position he remained for three years, when with the savings of his salary he wended his way westward, and commenced business on his own account in the city of Saint Joseph, Missouri, then growing with great rapidity under the impetus of the construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and the Pike's Peak excitement. A brief season of prosperity ensued; but the Pike's Peak bubble burst, and Mr. Fitch saw his rising fortunes wrecked. He returned at once to his former home in Milwaukee,

and, abandoning mercantile pursuits, engaged with Mr. Crounse, since Washington correspondent of the "New York Times," in editing and publishing the "Milwaukee Free Democrat." The enterprise did not prove successful, and after a few months Mr. Fitch started for California, landing from the steerage of the "Uncle Sam" in San Francisco in August, 1860, with ten dollars in his pocket, and without a friend or acquaintance on the coast. During several years before, by constant reading, by study at odd intervals, by practicing in debating societies, and by brief speaking at ward meetings, which he attended as reporter while connected with the "Free Democrat," Mr. Fitch had been cultivating a taste and talent for public speaking. Accident precipitated a political discussion in the steerage of the "Uncle Sam" on her upward trip from Panama, and Mr. Fitch made his maiden political speech under a tropical sky, to the accompaniment of the ocean's monotonous. There chanced to be on board the steamer some returning delegates from the Chicago Republican Convention, who on their arrival in San Francisco reported the circumstance, hunted up the young orator, and introduced him to a California audience. He acquitted himself so well that he was employed by the Republican State Central Committee to canvass the State, and traveled through California that year, making some seventy speeches in favor of Lincoln and Hamlin, evoking great enthusiasm wherever he went. Shortly after the close of the canvass Mr. Fitch returned East, and remained in Washington during the winter, where he formed the acquaintance of the leading Republicans, and was an especial favorite of Colonel E. D. Baker.

Returning to San Francisco in April, 1861, Mr. Fitch engaged as editor of the "Times." He subsequently took the stump in favor of the Republican ticket, and after election was preparing to leave again for the East, at the request of Colonel Baker, to take a position on his staff, when the news arrived of the battle of Ball's Bluff, and the death of that gallant soldier and statesman. This changed the plans of Mr. Fitch, who then settled in Placerville and edited the "Republican," which he continued for about a year.

After a determined opposition, and against a bitter personal contest, Mr. Fitch was elected to the California Assembly of 1862-63 from El Dorado County. In that body he was on the Committees on the Judiciary and Indian Affairs, and served with credit to himself. On the conclusion of his term in June, 1863, he crossed the Sierras and settled in Virginia City, Nevada, where he was engaged as chief editor of the "Virginia Union," then a flourishing daily paper. In the fall of that year he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the Territory, but continued in charge of the paper until the spring of 1864, when he was elected from Storey County to the Convention which framed the Nevada State Constitution. He manifested in that body great parliamentary ability and power as a debater, and left the impress of his thoughts upon the Constitution.

Mr. Fitch soon after settled in Washoe City for the practice of law. He at once took a leading position at the bar of that district, and met with remarkable and almost unvarying success as a lawyer and advocate, especially before juries. A vacancy occurring in the office of District Attorney in August, 1865, Mr. Fitch was appointed to the position, which he held until the expiration of his term in January, 1867. Shortly after that time he was nominated for Representative from Nevada to the Forty-first Congress, and was elected by a large majority.

On taking his seat in the House of Representatives Mr. Fitch was assigned to the Committees on Public Lands and the Post-Office and Post-Roads. His voice soon came to be heard with special interest in the debates of the House. His principal speech of the first session was on the Bill for the Reconstruction of Mississippi. Early in the second session, on the evening of December 16, he delivered his masterly speech on the affairs of Cuba. Two or three days afterward he was heard briefly on the Georgia Reconstruction Bill. January 14, 1871, he spoke at length on the bill to admit Virginia to representation. About a month following this was his speech on the bill for the enforcement of the laws in Utah, and subsequently his speech on the Sutro Tunnel Bill. He spoke also on the Joint Resolution relative to the Cuban con-

test, on Chinese Emigration and Suffrage, on the resolution to defray expenses of Indian Delegations, on General Amnesty, and various other subjects.

To Mr. Fitch, as well as to other leading speakers in Congress, it is difficult to do justice in brief paragraphs taken from elaborate and well-sustained speeches; yet an extract or two must be indulged illustrative of the style characterizing an orator who made no ordinary impression upon the House and the country during his short service in Congress. In his speech on the admission of Virginia Mr. Fitch thus eloquently sets forth the real objects of the late war:

Have not some of us forgotten or failed to realize and appreciate the real object of the late war and of the reconstruction legislation which followed that war? He must be blind indeed to the sources of human motive who does not understand that the reigning animating purpose of the American people was essentially to preserve the geographical integrity and political unity of the United States of America. And to this was added, as an outgrowth of the war, the not less lofty determination to extend the scepter of freedom over every human being dwelling beneath the shelter of its flag. Sir, to accomplish this result war was made upon a gigantic scale; and never before was war made with so pure, so just, so generous a purpose. Our people did not fight for power, for conquest, or for vengeance; not to extend our boundaries, not to obtain commercial advantages, not to punish those who assailed us; but for the grand and patriotic purpose of preserving the Government our fathers founded, and making this the free nation of which our fathers dreamed.

On the subject of Chinese immigration and suffrage Mr. Fitch thus forcibly expressed his views:

I do not believe in the cheap labor which supplants contented and well-paid toil, nor in that social theory which would force the Caucasian to rival the domestic economy of the Asiatic. I do not believe in the policy of introducing extensively into this country a race who have a distinct civilization, religion, habits, and language of their own; a race who are alike incapable and unworthy of assimilation with ours; a race with whom polygamy is a practice and female chastity is not a virtue; a race who are thrifty in habit, yet slothful in thought; apt, yet retrogressive; educated, yet without newspapers; courageous, yet without self-respect; honest in monetary affairs, yet without moral principle; faithful to obligations, yet utterly destitute of any regard for the truth; a race which rears no families and acquires no landed property among us, possesses no past and hopes for no future in common with our civilization, and whose members are of their own will perpetual strangers in this land, where they never design to remain, and from which they contract to have even their dead bodies exported.

JOHN FOX.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Fox served on the Committees on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Mileage, and Enrolled Bills. He made no formal speeches. His most extended remarks occurred in a colloquy pending the discussion of the bill for the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment.

"The gentleman from Massachusetts," said Mr. Fox, referring to Mr. Butler, "very kindly rose in his place to give us some information, and that information was that the city of Richmond had been carried by four hundred majority for the Republican ticket. I desire to give the other side of the House some information. The full vote cast at the late election in the State of New York has been declared, and there was a majority of ninety-one thousand for the Democratic ticket. I think the passage of this bill to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment will increase that majority."

"Allow me a single word," responded Mr. Butler, "and that is, that if they had needed more votes in New York they could have got them."

"The Democratic majority outside of the city of New York is thirty thousand," continued Mr. Fox.

"I want to say," interposed Mr. Garfield, "that there are eighty-eight thousand illiterate people in the State of New York: men who cannot read or write."

"What is to prevent you," asked Mr. Lynch, "from making a majority as large as you please without the Fifteenth Amendment?"

Pending the consideration, in Committee of the Whole, of the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, the clerk read as follows:

For fuel, lights, and water for public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, \$225,000.

Thereupon Mr. Fox moved to amend this clause by striking out the word "fuel," and added:

In the city of New York the poor people are now freezing almost to death for want of fuel. This is caused by the legislation of the Republican party in this House. I do not see the necessity of making this enormous expenditure for the purpose of toasting the shins of Government *employes* in this city, friends of the Republican party in this House. Hence I move this amendment.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Garfield was Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and a member of the Select Committee on the Ninth Census. By this Committee he was charged with drafting a new bill for taking the census. The Committee sat more than two months during the summer recess, and the bill framed by Mr. Garfield was presented to the House on the third day of the ensuing session. The framer of the bill had the charge of it, ably presenting, explaining, and defending its several features, and after being discussed during eleven days, it passed the House by a large majority. The bill failed, however, in the Senate—a failure which was very generally regretted. In connection with the Census Bill Mr. Garfield prepared an extended report of one hundred and twenty pages, embracing the whole history of census-taking among ancient and modern peoples, and particularly its origin and history in this country.

As Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, Mr. Garfield conducted the Gold Panic investigation, giving forty days' labor to this subject, and writing out the Report, which covers twenty-three printed octavo pages, which, together with the testimony and appendices, makes a volume of four hundred and eighty-three pages.

Mr. Garfield had charge of a bill, which became the law of July 12, 1870, establishing free banking on a gold basis, and providing for the withdrawal of the Three per cent. Certificates and the issue of national bank-notes in their place. In support of this bill he made two able speeches. He also participated in the debate in the matter of difference between the two Houses on the right to originate revenue bills, and made an elaborate speech on that subject. He also made a speech on the McGarrahan claim.

On December 16, 1869, Mr. Garfield submitted to the House a resolution that "the proposition, direct or indirect, to repudiate any portion of the debt of the United States is unworthy of the honor and good name of the nation; and that this House, without distinction of party, hereby sets its seal of condemnation upon any and all such propositions." This resolution was at once adopted

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by a vote of one hundred and twenty-four against one—eighty-six members being absent or not voting.

In his speech on the Georgia question Mr. Garfield sympathized with the Bingham amendment, requiring a new election in Georgia in the fall of 1870, insisting that the right of extending the existing offices two years implied the right to extend them indefinitely.

Mr. Garfield, pending the consideration of the Tax Bill, favored the continuance of the Income Tax, but somewhat modified; and he proposed an amendment whose effect would be to abolish all that portion of this tax which relates to business—the making of money by engaging in work; so that the whole weight of the income tax might fall upon realized wealth. “I desire,” said he, “to remove the burden of this income tax from labor that it may rest exclusively upon capital.” He stated the effect to be, that “whenever any man terminates his active career in life, and becomes a mere capitalist living upon the profits of his wealth invested in some permanent form, that man’s income will pay a tax. But whenever a man enters into a business, whenever he is a producer of wealth, whenever by his labor he makes use of his capital to increase the wealth of the nation, then he is to be exempted from the income tax.”

Mr. Garfield favored the retention of the Civil Tenure Law with modification. “In an hour of great emergency,” said he, “to meet a great necessity of the nation, Congress enacted the Civil Tenure Law. I am one of those who not only voted for it, but believed that we were laying upon the President of the United States a restriction warranted by the Constitution. . . . I think that the law is too rigorous. . . . But, sir, I shall not consent to the surrender of the great Constitutional power that the Senate of the United States has over the appointments to, and removals from, office.” In a speech on the bill to revive the navigation and commercial interests of the United States, Mr. Garfield maintained that the difficulty should not be obviated by subsidies, which are “odious to the American people.”

J. LAWRENCE GETZ.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Getz continued to serve on the Committee on Public Expenditures, and he was also a member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

In a speech on the Internal Tax Bill he opposed the continuance of the income tax, and for the reasons following :

1. It is vexatious and inquisitorial in its character; it exposes every man's private affairs to the public gaze; it is unequal and unjust in its operation, and a fruitful source of perjury and fraud. 2. Its assessment is expensive, and necessitates the retention in office of a vast army of assistant assessors or Government spies, who are as great a plague to the people and as voracious consumers of their substance as were the locusts of Egypt. 3. When this tax was imposed Congress gave a solemn pledge to the country that it should not be continued or renewed. . . .


This tax, therefore, has expired by limitation of law. It was originally imposed as a war tax. To re-enact it now, five years after the war has ceased, would be in effect imposing a new tax upon the people. To do this, at a time when the cry comes up to us from every part of the country for a reduction of the burdens of taxation, would be so gross an injustice to the patient and long-suffering tax-payers of the country that I cannot conceive how any gentleman who regards the honor of the Government or the duty he owes to his constituents can be persuaded to record his vote in the affirmative.

Mr. Getz addressed the House during this Congress on the Georgia Reconstruction Bill, and several other subjects. We extract the following from his memorial speech on occasion of the death of Mr. Covode :

Untiring industry, indomitable energy, frugality without parsimony, an intellect quick to apprehend, and a judgment remarkably acute to apply the knowledge he acquired in his intercourse with men, were the elements that combined to make his life, in a worldly point of view, a success. . . .

John Covode had his faults, as who of us has not? But whatever may be recorded against him in the great book of God's remembrance, there will also be entered to his credit many an act of kindness, many a generous deed, many a work of charity, many a token of pure friendship. His death was sudden; so sudden and startling that when the intelligence first reached this city it was hardly credited. It was a surprise to all, and may I not say that none who knew him heard it confirmed without a pang of sorrow? Like the great statesman of Kentucky, no man had warmer friends, and none more bitter enemies. Now that he has gone to "the undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveler returns," the latter may properly imitate the magnanimity of Henry Clay, who, when it was expected that he would rejoice at the death of his life-long foe, bowed his head in sorrow and feelingly exclaimed, "When God lays his hand upon my enemy I take mine off."

JAMES K. GIBSON.


AMES KING GIBSON was born in Abingdon, Virginia, February 18, 1812. He received a common school education, but before this had conducted him far in the learning of books he entered upon a course of practical business training as clerk in a store. He went to Limestone County, Alabama, in 1833, and engaged in mercantile pursuits, but after remaining a few years he returned to his native place, not to be lured away again in search of fortune elsewhere.

He entered into mercantile pursuits in Abingdon, and continued to be thus engaged until 1840. Two years previous to this time he had been appointed Post-master by President Van Buren, and, Abingdon becoming a distributing office, his official duties became so arduous as to necessitate his retiring from his private business. He continued to be Post-master by re-appointments of Presidents Tyler and Polk until the close of the administration of the latter. He was appointed teller and clerk in the branch of the Exchange Bank of Virginia at Abingdon in 1849. He was also a Notary Public. He held both of these positions until after the war, when he became a farmer.

He was elected a Representative from Virginia to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, receiving 14,508 votes against 5,966 for Smith, Republican. His disabilities having been removed by act of Congress, he was sworn in January 28, 1870, taking the modified oath prescribed by the act of July 11, 1868. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Agriculture. He made no speeches, but otherwise deported himself as a faithful and efficient representative during his brief fragmentary term of service.

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CALVIN W. GILFILLAN.


ALVIN W. GILFILLAN was born near New Castle, Pennsylvania, February 20, 1832. His parents were both American born, his father of Scotch and his mother of Irish descent. Being in humble circumstances, they could only give their son a common-school education, re-inforced by such home instruction as only Christian parents can give. He labored on the farm until eighteen years of age, preparing himself for teaching, principally by private study at home, with little help from schools. By teaching school he provided himself with the means of pursuing a liberal course of study at Westminster College, Pennsylvania. For two years after completing his collegiate studies he was employed in teaching in an Academy, and in 1857 he was elected Superintendent of Public Schools for Mercer County, Pa. He studied law in the office of Hon. William Stewart, of Mercer, Pa., and was admitted to the Bar in the spring of 1859, and served during a part of that year as transcribing clerk in the State House of Representatives. In 1861 he was appointed District Attorney for Venango County, and was elected to the same position, and held the office for the term of three years. He continued in the practice of his profession until 1868, when he was elected on the Republican ticket as Representative from Pennsylvania for the Forty-first Congress.

Taking his seat as a member of that body March 4, 1869, he was appointed on the Committee on the District of Columbia and the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and War of 1812. Mr. Gilfillan made several speeches in the House, principally on financial subjects, one of which advocated the policy of funding the public debt.



C. M. Gifford

JOHN A. GRISWOLD.

OHN A. GRISWOLD was born in Greene County, New York, in 1827. He entered the profession of law, and in 1856 was elected District Attorney of Greene County, which position he held for three years. In 1864 he was elected County Judge, and continued in the office four years. In 1868 he was elected a Representative from New York to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat. He served on the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and the Committee on Expenditures on the Public Buildings.

In a speech delivered June 3, 1870, Mr. Griswold opposed the Income Tax, presenting an objection to its revival or continuance, which had not been distinctly raised during the debate:

“By the third clause of section two, article one, of the Constitution of the United States, it is declared that—

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

“From the provision of the Constitution referred to it is plain that all direct taxes imposed by the General Government must be apportioned among the several States of the Union as the Representatives in this House are apportioned, that is, according to the last census or enumeration of the inhabitants of all the States, to be determined on the basis of that provision. . . . This being a provision of the organic law of the Government prescribing the basis and limiting the manner of imposing direct taxes by this Government, of course any other mode or basis of imposing such taxes by Congress is without authority and in violation of the Constitution.”

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Haight served on the Committee on Naval Affairs. Among his speeches in this Congress was a plea in behalf of American citizens held as political prisoners under English authority. He complained that not only were citizens thus treated who had been tried and convicted, but such as had never been placed on trial, and were, therefore, presumed to be innocent of any offense whatever. He deprecated the tendency to make this a party question, and added:

I do not propose, nor do I consider that this is the time, place, or occasion, to indulge in language of commendation of our adopted citizens; yet I am none the less sensible of the fact that the greatness, wealth, and prosperity of this nation, and the development of our immense material resources, is, in a great degree, owing to the vast immigration to our shores of men of foreign birth, and the energy, zeal, and industry which our adopted citizens have always displayed. Our great works of internal improvement, our vast net of railroads that encompass the whole country, would not have been completed without this aid. But above and beyond all this, in the hour of the nation's peril they were as true to the land of their adoption as the magnet to the pole.

Another of the speeches of Mr. Haight favored a Government appropriation for improving the navigation of the Delaware river, and other rivers within the limits of New Jersey. Setting forth that the obstructions in the Delaware between Philadelphia and Trenton have materially diminished the commerce between the two cities, and that a removal of the obstructions to navigation was highly necessary to the prosperity of important manufacturing interests.


In another speech, pending the question of the Tariff, Mr. Haight presented an interesting view of the potteries of the United States, and particularly of New Jersey, by which it appeared that this was the banner State in respect to this special branch of manufactures, Trenton alone numbering fifty-seven kilns:

These potteries represent in real estate, stocks of ware and materials, and bills and accounts receivable, a capital of about \$1,500,000. If worked to their full capacity each of the above kilns ought to produce annually ware to the value of \$35,000. Thus worked there would be consumed 30,000 tons of coal and 30,000 tons of prepared clay. . . . They (the potteries) have capacity to employ from twelve to fifteen hundred hands, to whom would be paid a weekly amount of wages of \$10,000.

Referring to these and the potteries of the country generally, and to their rapid increase in number and capacity, Mr. Haight concluded that, if they should be protected by an adequate tariff, the United States would be no longer dependent upon England for her supply of earthen-ware. "It is stated," said he, "to be a fact that many of the American potteries are now producing white ware equal if not superior to English of the same grade. Every ingredient necessary is now being developed here, and we are, in fact, now using American clays, flint, spar, lead, and all the other articles used in its production, except the one article of boracic acid."

One of the most interesting of Mr. Haight's speeches was that in support of an amendment submitted by him to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill. The proposed amendment provided for the pay of six experienced surfmen to man each of the boats at the life-saving stations on the New Jersey coast from December 1 to March 1. In his speech advocating this amendment he illustrated the inadequacy of the provisions already made for saving life on that coast. "The severe storms," he said, "occur generally in the winter season. My amendment is intended to have assistance at hand and aid ready at this most dangerous and doubtful period. It not only proposes to have aid, but it provides for the best and most efficient; it provides that they shall be surfmen—men who live on the shore and are familiar with it. . . . These fishermen and surfmen, it is true, are not millionaires, nor do they live in ease or luxury. They maintain and support themselves and their families from the wealth of the waters; but they are as brave, as gallant, and self-sacrificing a set of men as ever lived. Without fee or reward, and in many cases with taunt and calumny as their only remuneration, they face danger, and in many cases death, to rescue the suffering and the dying from a premature grave. These men are often designated in the public journals as 'Barnegat pirates.' Those who thus characterize them do not know their worth, nor can they appreciate the services they render to the shipwrecked." . . .

RICHARD J. HALDEMAN.

 RICHARD J. HALDEMAN was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, May 19, 1831. He studied at Captain Partridge's military school at Harrisburg, and graduated at Yale College, Connecticut, in 1851. The same year he visited Europe, and studied a short time in the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg. In 1853 he went with Hon. John Y. Mason, United States Minister to France, as *attaché* of legation in Paris, and later accompanied Hon. Thomas H. Seymour in a similar capacity to St. Petersburg. He traveled extensively throughout Scandinavia, Central and Southern Europe, and the far East. In 1857 he purchased the Harrisburg Daily *Patriot and Union*, and edited it until 1860. In that year he was elected a Delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore Convention. In 1868 he was elected a Representative from Pennsylvania to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat. Subsequently to his election to Congress he married a daughter of Hon. Simon Cameron.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Haldeman served on the Select Committee on the Ninth Census. His first speech was on the bill for taking the Ninth Census, in which he said :

I had hoped that it would be deemed practicable to make a *de facto* and actual enumeration of this people, and on one day. It is the recommendation of statistical congresses of Europe, composed of the ablest statistes of their respective countries, and is strongly urged by such men as Baron Quetelet, Monsieur Legoyt of France, Dr. Farr of London, and Dr. Engel of Berlin. It is the accurate and scientific method by which you obtain an enumeration of the people as they are on a fixed day, arresting as it were the wheels of individual and national life, photographing the nation with its vital and material forces, with its pursuits and industries, with its aggregate wealth and its aggregate income.



Eugene Hale.

EUGENE HALE.




EUGENE HALE was born in Turner, Oxford County, Maine, June 9, 1836. He studied law, was admitted to the Bar, and commenced practice in 1857. He was for nine years Attorney for Hancock County. He was a member of the Legislature of Maine in 1867 and 1868. He was subsequently elected a Representative from Maine to the Forty-first Congress, and taking his seat March 4, 1869, he served on the Committees on Elections, Naval Affairs, and Expenditures in the State Department.

Mr. Hale's first speech in the House was on the occasion of the announcement of the death of Mr. Fessenden, when, after speaking of the loss which the elder statesmen had sustained by this event, he added :

But to the young men who are just entering public life the deprivation is even greater. That life with its temptations and seducements is all before us. There are tricks and shams and intimidations that are set as pitfalls in our paths. With much that is noble and inspiring about us, there are manifold inclinations to sloth, to fickleness, and it may be to corruption. Who can tell whether he has not already set his feet in the way that leads down to moral death? We need the tones of that voice which never directed the coward's retreat; the splendid calm of that clear face that kept its serenity when the battle around him was at its thickest; we need the actual sight of and association with him, and all such as he was, who by example and precept elevate our aims, establish our character, and make us truly public servants for the public good. And for him who, connected with public affairs, seeks to build up an honorable reputation, what better course can be given than to emulate the steadfastness, the sobriety, the justice of William Pitt Fessenden?

In a speech on the apportionment of representation, January 17, 1870, Mr. Hale argued with much ability that the number of members of the House of Representatives should not be enlarged.

SAMUEL HAMBLETON.

AMUEL HAMBLETON is a native of Talbot County, Maryland, and was born in 1812. He still resides in the home of his ancestors, who were among the early settlers of Maryland. He was educated at the county academy, which afforded excellent facilities for liberal literary culture. He studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1833.

Great political questions were at that time agitating the public mind, and excitement running very high was felt among all classes. It is not strange that the young lawyer, whose home was so near the national capital, the source of political power for the country, should be affected by the pervading influence, and we find him in the State House of Delegates in 1834. He served in the same body the next year, and again nearly twenty years later. In 1844 he was a Presidential Elector, and at the same time was elected to a seat in the State Senate, in which he served until 1850.

For many years succeeding he was out of political office, devoted to professional duties, which were interrupted, however, by some two years of service as President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. After many years of successful participation in business and legislation in his native State, he first entered actively into national politics in 1868, when he was elected a Representative from the first district of Maryland as a Democrat, receiving a majority of 8,097 votes. During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Hambleton served on the Committees on Territories and Expenditures on the Public Buildings. Though attentive to his duties as a legislator, and careful of the interests of his constituents, he made no speeches during his first term in Congress. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress, receiving a majority of 3,966 votes.

PATRICK HAMILL.



PATRICK HAMILL was born in Green Glades, Alleghany County, Maryland, April 28, 1817. He was educated at the private schools of the country, and engaged in agricultural and mercantile pursuits. In 1841 and 1842 he served as collector of taxes, and at the close of his term in this office he was elected a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, in which he served two years. He was appointed, and served three years as Judge of the Orphans' Court of Alleghany County, and was then elected to the same office for four years more. In 1867 he was elected Chief Judge of the same Court.

In 1868 Mr. Hamill was elected a Representative from Maryland to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, receiving 12,239 votes, against 11,653 votes for Weisel, Republican. When he presented himself to take the oath, March 4, 1869, objection was made that "at the beginning of the Rebellion he furnished aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States; that he persuaded men to enter the Confederate service; that he loaned a horse to a Confederate officer for that purpose; and that he conducted himself as an enemy to the country and its institutions and laws, and to such an extent that he severed his relations with his Church for the purpose of joining a southern organization."

It seemed, however, that the charges were groundless, as a letter was introduced from the opposing candidate, who had instituted an investigation with a view to contesting the seat, stating that he found nothing which impeached the loyalty of Mr. Hamill. He was sworn in on the 5th of March, 1869, and was assigned to service on the Committees on Public Expenditures and Expenditures in the Navy Department.

CHARLES M. HAMILTON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)


During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Hamilton served on the Committee for the District of Columbia and the Committee on Education and Labor. True to his position as a member of these committees, and the representative of a Southern constituency, he labored to ameliorate the condition of the colored people. His first speech in this Congress was on the bill for the relief of the poor of the District of Columbia, of which the following is an extract :

Mr. Chairman, is it not the religious duty of the Government, which has exclusive control of the affairs of the District of Columbia, to provide for the helpless and needy whom misfortune finds within its borders? Does it matter how they came here? If it does, then a greater reason can be found why the General Government should hasten to make this essential provision for their aid, comfort, and support. They are not properly the poor of Washington, nor of the District, but are the poor of the nation, whom the dangers and calamities of war impelled hither. Thousands of them, white and black alike, came from Maryland, from Virginia, and from all parts of the South, driven by the armies, escaping from the chains of slavery, fleeing from the terrors of rebellion here to the home of safety and freedom. Where else should they, could they, flee than to the capital of their country? It was by no choice, possibly, of their own that they came; it is by no choice, possibly, of their own that they remain here. Numbers of them are indigent, helpless, friendless, and cannot get away, and desire to pass the few remaining years of a weary pilgrimage in the nation's Mecca. The summer of their lives was spent in the compulsory, unrequited service of others, else they had laid up support against this day of want. We may complain that those among them who are physically able to help themselves should call upon the Government for assistance. Hundreds are ready and willing to earn their livelihood, but cannot find employment. There are no mills or factories, and but limited public works in operation here, and their want of employment is as great as their want of the absolute necessities of life. They call for both. Their cry for food is loud. Shall they call in vain? We are told that starvation stares them in the face. Shall the Government be less benevolent than individuals? The city, owning but one half of the property of the District, is doing its duty to them; and shall the Government, owning the other half, on which it pays no taxes, fail in the equal duty it owes to its needy citizens? Where else than here, under the very shade of the Capitol, are such meager provisions made for the amelioration of the condition of the indigent? Let us blot out this reproach by a unanimous passage of this bill for the relief of the poor at the seat of Government. Unless gentlemen have visited the Island, and places without the city but within the District—the environs of the city—they can have no knowledge of the extent of the destitution or the lamentable condition of the poor people here, hundreds of whom are totally physically unable to earn their daily bread. Illy supplied with clothing and fuel, it is fortunate for them, and fortunate for the consciences of the authorities, that the winter has been so gentle.



G. E. Harris

GEORGE E. HARRIS.

EORGE E. HARRIS was born in Orange County, North Carolina, January 8, 1827. In 1830 his parents removed to Carroll County, Tennessee, where his father, a man of very limited means, engaged in planting. At the age of seventeen his rising ambition and desire to see the world induced him to leave his home. Working his way southward, he arrived near Hernando, De Soto County, Mississippi, without money, friends, or education, and commenced life for himself, working on a farm two years for small wages. He then commenced planting on a small farm when the country contained but a sparse population and was almost a wilderness. By energy and industry he soon acquired a limited English education, and commenced teaching a country school, and continued to teach and study for three years. He then commenced reading the law without a preceptor, and at the age of twenty-seven he was admitted to the bar to practice in the Courts of the State. His practice steadily increased, and his kindness of manner and promptness and attention to business, whether for the orphan, the widow, or the poor, and whether they had money or not, gave him a sufficient practice to sustain himself at the bar and to support his family until the breaking out of the late war. Having been an Old Line Whig and a stanch Union man, he persisted in his love for the Union until his State went out and the war became sectional, then he went into the Confederate Army, and there remained until the surrender, when he saw his predictions fulfilled in the defeat of the Confederate cause. At the close of the war in 1865 he was elected District Attorney of the Seventh Judicial District of Mississippi, receiving a plurality vote over five opposing candidates of known ability and popularity, and was re-elected in the fall of 1866 by a


handsome majority. In this position he had to prosecute with a heavy calendar of crime, and to meet and combat the combined talent of the bar of North Mississippi, which has but few superiors in America. He held the office until February, 1869, when the Act of Congress removing all officers who could not take the "test oath" of 1862 compelled him to relinquish the position, to the regret of his many friends, but to the satisfaction of evil-doers, to whom he had so long been a terror.

In March, 1869, he received from Brevet Major-General Gillem (then Commander of the District) the appointment of Circuit Judge of his Judicial District, but, being unable to take the oath, did not accept.

On the 20th of October, 1869, he received the nomination from the Republican party as candidate for Congress for the unexpired term of the Forty-first and full term of the Forty-second Congress, as provided by the State Constitution. He did not seek the nomination, attend the Convention, or promise to accept; but, in his absence, Hon. J. W. Vance, of Hernando, and the Chairman of the Nominating Convention, in pledging to the Convention the acceptance of Mr. Harris, paid him the following tribute: "In pledging you the acceptance of Colonel Harris of the honor of being your standard-bearer, I am proud to say to you that in long years past I have been intimately associated with him in personal and business relations. I know him to be a man of spotless honor, pure integrity and morality, a noble and honest gentleman, whose election will reflect credit to our party and do honor to our selection." After a brief and exciting canvass he was elected by nearly four thousand majority.

Taking his seat as a Representative from Mississippi in the Forty-first Congress February 23, 1870, Mr. Harris was assigned to the Committee on Railways and Canals and the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs. He took an active part in all the legislation of that Congress that promised good for his section of the country, especially the general amnesty of the citizens and the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

JOHN B. HAWLEY.


OHN B. HAWLEY was born in Fairfield County, Connecticut, February 9, 1831, and went to Illinois with his parents when quite young. He studied law, and on coming to the bar in 1852 settled in Rock Island. In 1856 he was elected State Attorney, serving four years. In 1861 he entered the Union army as Captain, and took an active part in the battles of Forts Henry and Donelson, receiving injuries in the last engagement which made it necessary for him to retire from military duty in 1862. In 1865 he was appointed by President Lincoln postmaster of Rock Island, and was removed the year following by President Johnson.

He was elected a Representative from Illinois to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and entering upon his duties as such March 4, 1869, he was appointed to the Committee on Public Lands and the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs. His first speech, delivered January 14, 1870, was on the admission of Virginia, of which the following are the closing paragraphs :

Virginia, desiring to change the likeness of God in human form into a thing of traffic, and forever to bind the slave with fetters so strong that they could not be broken, made war upon this nation, and fought until her strength was exhausted. Then, and not till then, did she submit, when she fought us until she could fight no more ; and now, covered with the scars of war that treason has made, she comes with naught but violated oaths upon her lips, and the blood of Union soldiers upon her hands. You ask me to trust her implicitly ; you ask me to receive her again and welcome her with joy, without a pledge or a guarantee for the future which she may not break.

Sir, I hope Virginia will fulfill the highest expectations of her most sanguine friends upon this floor. I hope the day will come when the wounds the war has made will all be healed, and when the South, clothed in the fair garments of universal liberty and equal political rights to all men, shall fully redeem and keep the pledge she has made. As a nation, the future, with all its possibilities, is before us. In our hands, to a great degree, is now placed its present and its future welfare. . . .


JOHN B. HAY.

OHN B. HAY was born in Belleville, Illinois, January 8, 1834. He received a common-school education, worked on a farm, and in his sixteenth year became a printer. He subsequently studied law, and devoted himself to the profession in his native town. He was for eight years State's Attorney for the Twenty-fourth Judicial District of Illinois, and subsequently served in the Union army during the war for the suppression of the Rebellion. He was elected a Representative from Illinois to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican. Taking his seat in Congress March 4, 1869, Mr. Hay was assigned to the Committees on Invalid Pensions and Expenditures in the Post-Office Department. His first speech in the House was during the discussion of the resolution to print the Report of Mr. Wells, Commissioner of the Revenue, January 20, 1870, on which occasion, half a minute of time having been allowed him, he said: "I sanction and indorse all that has been said here to-day against the high protective tariff which is now oppressing the energies of the American people, and doing more to impoverish this nation than any thing else that has ever taken the shape of legislation."

On the 26th of March following Mr. Hay had an opportunity of more fully discussing the tariff question, which he did in an able and elaborate speech occupying twenty-five columns of the *Congressional Globe*. The following brief quotation comprehensively sets forth his views :

I am therefore in favor of the reduction of taxation, both of tariff and internal taxes, to the lowest amount consistent with raising revenue sufficient to meet the expenses of the Government, to discharge the interest of the national debt, and to maintain the national credit. And, sir, this reduction should reach at least \$80,000,000 ; and \$40,000,000 of this reduction, I hold, should be applied to the reduction of tariff taxation. . . .

CHARLES HAYS.

HARLES HAYS was born in Greene County, Alabama, February 2, 1834; he was educated at the University of Georgia and at the University of Virginia. He devoted himself entirely to agricultural pursuits, and became one of the largest planters in Alabama. He was elected to the Constitutional Convention of Alabama in 1867, and was one of the framers of the present Constitution of that State. He was elected to the State Senate of Alabama in 1868, and while a member of that body was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 17,243 votes against 5,228 votes for his opponent.

Mr. Hays was admitted to his seat December 7, 1870, on taking the special oath prescribed by the act of July 11, 1868, and was assigned to the Committee on Naval Affairs. His first speech in the House, March 24, 1870, was on the Tariff, and was especially interesting as presenting the views of the southern planters. He affirmed his "adherence to the old principle that, with economy in the public expenditures, revenue should be the object, and protection only the incident," and added :

Presupposing the fact that the industrial and productive interests of the South are matters of as much moment and concern as those of any other section, when it is considered that we produce in the single item of cotton an annual crop to the value of \$300,000,000, I feel warranted in stating that the public sentiment in the planting States is utterly opposed to any policy of protection that will operate unequally. I am warranted also in urging that the planting States do not object to a reasonable tariff from which a fair revenue may be derived wherewith to support an economical Government, but they seriously disagree with any policy of protection which forces them to pay large prices for certain commodities and necessities when the only competition in the market is that which close corporations may see fit to extend.

ROBERT S. HEFLIN.

ROBERT S. HEFLIN was born near Madison, Georgia, April 15, 1815. He enjoyed the advantages of an academic education. On the breaking out of hostilities with the Creeks in 1836 he volunteered, and did efficient service against the hostile Indians. He was elected Clerk of the Superior Court of Fayette County, Georgia, in 1836, and served four years, having been re-elected in 1838. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1840, and served in the State Senate of Georgia during that and the following year. In 1844 he removed to Randolph County, Alabama. He was a member of the House of Representatives of Alabama in 1849, and of the State Senate in 1857.

Mr. Heflin was an uncompromising Union man during the War of the Rebellion, and was compelled to leave his home to save his life. He passed through the lines to the Union army at Rome, Georgia, and subsequently accompanied General Sherman's command to Savannah. He was appointed Judge of Probate in 1865 by Provisional Governor Parsons, and was subsequently elected to that office, which he held until the State was admitted into the Union. He was a Republican elector for the Third Congressional District, and as such aided in casting the vote of Georgia for Grant and Colfax.

Mr. Heflin was elected a Representative from Alabama to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican. He served on the Committee on Invalid Pensions, from which he reported numerous bills for the action of the House. He introduced a general bill for the removal of disabilities from the people of Alabama, and, failing to secure its passage, he proposed numerous special bills for the same purpose. His most elaborate speech, made during the Forty-first Congress, was in advocacy of the removal of political disabilities.

JOHN HILL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Hill served on the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and on the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. On the 2d of June, 1870, he made a speech on the Income Tax in which he said :

When the income tax was first imposed it was in time of war, at a time and under circumstances that called for immediate help to meet the expenses of the Government, and the citizens of our country responded cheerfully to the call made upon them by this tax; but the great necessity for the continuation of the tax has passed away, and the continued drain on the people by taxation, so far as the income tax is concerned, is now uncalled for. The people have been willing to pay liberally for the support of the Government and the reduction of the debt. They now ask to be relieved of these heavy taxes, especially the income tax, and ask that the next generation help to bear some of the burdens of taxation. The country is growing rapidly, its resources are fast being developed, and in twenty-five or thirty years, with an increased population and general prosperity, which we have every reason to anticipate, the burdens will bear lightly, and our debt can be much more easily paid than at the present time.

As it now stands, it bears directly and indirectly very hard on the working-man and the mechanic, skilled or unskilled, engineers, clerks, book-keepers, doctors, teachers, professors, lawyers, and clergymen, and a vast number of men of moderate means whose income depends on bodily and mental labor. It is unfair that they should be taxed like those whose income is derived from invested wealth. With the former class death and sickness cuts off the income, leaving the family dependent, while with the latter it continues after death for the benefit of the family.

It is contended that the tax is a popular one because the revenue it produces comes from the rich and wealthy. The gentlemen who use such arguments forget that most of the rich and wealthy men who have incomes to return receive them from the profits of their business; and in the end a greater portion of it comes directly and indirectly from the workingmen, mechanics, clerks, and others in their employ, who in many instances are paid less wages in order that these taxes can be met and paid. Therefore I hold that the income tax bears unjustly and hard on this most worthy and industrious class of citizens. I ask the gentlemen of this House to take a broad view of this matter, looking over the whole country, and the general bearing of the income tax on all the people, and impose no tax-law the tendency of which would be to create bad feeling against the Government because of its unequal and unjust provisions.

In a speech delivered January 27, 1870, Mr. Hill advocated the abolition of the Franking Privilege, a measure which he said would "save millions of dollars and lead to other economies in expenditure, and, better than all, pave the way eventually for the adoption of that great boon to the people, popular penny postage."


TRUMAN H. HOAG.



TRUMAN H. HOAG belonged to that class known as "substantial business men." His life was mainly devoted to mercantile pursuits, with the success that capacity, industry, good health, and unblemished integrity seldom fail to achieve. Though decided in his political opinions he was not a politician, nor did he aspire to political distinction. The only office he ever held was that of Representative in Congress, and that was thrust upon him. In a district in which his political opponents largely predominated he was elected by over nine hundred majority. This result was owing more to the esteem felt for him by his neighbors, and their confidence in his sound judgment and untarnished character, than to any other cause. He was, indeed, a man worthy of their trust and affection; punctual and faithful in all he undertook, clear-sighted and resolute in the discharge of his duties, yet singularly modest, and wholly devoid of affectation.

Mr. Hoag was born near Syracuse, New York, April 9, 1816. In 1848 he removed to Toledo, Ohio, where he ever after resided. He took his seat in Congress on the 4th of March last. He came to Washington at the commencement of the present session, apparently in the most perfect health. No member of his age seemed to have a fairer prospect of a long and happy life. Blessed with health, cheerfulness, competency, friends, and a loving and beloved wife and children, his pathway of life lay bright and beautiful before him; but in an instant, as if to show what shadows we are, he was struck down by disease, and after lingering nearly seven weeks, retaining his mental faculties all the time, and suffering no pain, he calmly and quietly sank into the embraces of death.—*Remarks of Hon. A. G. Thurman in the United States Senate on the announcement of the death of Mr. Hoag.*

GEORGE F. HOAR.

EORGE F. HOAR was born in Concord, Massachusetts, August 29, 1826. Having pursued his preparatory studies at Concord Academy, he entered Harvard College, in which he took high rank as a student, graduating at twenty years of age. He adopted the profession of law, and, graduating at the Dane Law School, Harvard University, he made his residence at Worcester, where he practiced successfully.

Being fully occupied with his professional duties for many years, Mr. Hoar did no office-seeking and little office-holding. His neighbors, however, availed themselves of his services, so far as they could be secured, by sending him to the State House of Representatives in 1852, and the Senate of Massachusetts in 1857.

In 1868 Mr. Hoar was elected a Representative from Massachusetts to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 14,307 votes, against 4,974 for Stevens, Democrat. As a candidate for re-election to the Forty-second Congress Mr. Hoar received 8,487 votes, against 4,277 for Cook, Democrat, 1,734 for Johnson, Labor-Reformer, and 566 for Walker, Prohibitionist. The falling off in the aggregate illustrates the difference in the interest which the people take in the election in the Presidential campaign and the "off-year." The divided vote shows how little the intelligent people of Massachusetts allow their political position to be defined by party lines.

Taking his seat as a member of the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Hoar was appointed on the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States. He took an exceedingly active and efficient part in the business of legislation. In the bills and resolutions proposed by

him, and in his speeches, he gave evidence of a philosophical statesmanship, and a wise disposition to establish legislation on fundamental principles.

Mr. Hoar's principal efforts in the Forty-first Congress were directed to securing the adoption of a measure to secure a system of national education. On the 26th of February, 1870, he introduced a bill to that effect, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. He advocated this important measure in a speech of much ability on the 6th of June following. It was not, however, until near the close of this Congress, in January, 1871, that this measure, having been reported from the committee, came regularly before the House for consideration. In answer to an objection urged by Mr. Bird, Mr. Hoar thus set forth the object of the bill :

There is no purpose in the mind of any man, so far as I have heard, to remove from the State, from the township, or from the school district, the valuable and precious privilege of regulating their own institutions for education in their own way. Nobody proposes, as the gentleman from New Jersey seems to suppose, not to permit the States of this Union to educate their people. But what is proposed is not to permit them not to do it. That is all. This bill declares that whenever a State desires to establish and put in force a school system reasonably sufficient for the education of its children of school age, the matter of so doing shall be left to the entire and exclusive charge of that community.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are in this country to-day sixteen States which for the next ten years are to elect thirty-two Senators and ninety Representatives, in which there are receiving an education at all—including even those who go to school for a single week in the year—about one million three hundred thousand children against three million five hundred and seventy-five thousand of school age who are receiving no sort of education whatever.

In answer to Mr. M'Neely, who asked whence came the constitutional power to do as provided in the pending bill, Mr. Hoar cited the clause authorizing Congress to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," and then added: "Now I declare that there is not a power vested by this instrument either in the Congress or in the people toward the exercise and accomplishment of which the education of the people is not the surest, the most direct, and the cheapest way."

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S. L. Hoge

SOLOMON L. HOGE.



SOLOMON L. HOGE was born July 11, 1836, of Virginia parentage, his father, Dr. Solomon G. Hoge, having been long a resident of Loudon County, Virginia, and his mother being a member of the Janney family, well known in the social and political circles of the Old Dominion.

Soon after the breaking out of the war Mr. Hoge entered the Eighty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers as First Lieutenant, and in May, 1862, was promoted to a captaincy. He served under General Schenck in West Virginia, and participated in the battles of McDowell, Cross Keys, and Cedar Creek. He subsequently fought under General Pope at Freeman's Ford and White Sulphur Springs. In the second battle of Manassas he held an advanced position under a most destructive fire, by which he lost two-thirds of his men, the remainder of the regiment having meanwhile fallen some four hundred yards to the rear. In this battle Captain Hoge was severely wounded in the neck and left shoulder. For gallant conduct he was brevetted Major.

At the close of the war he was ordered South, and was placed on duty at Charleston as Judge of a Military Commission. He took an active part in the reconstruction of South Carolina, and after the adoption of the new State Constitution he was elected by the General Assembly Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

While on the bench he was elected a Representative from South Carolina to the Forty-first Congress from the District formerly represented by John C. Calhoun. He served on the Committee on Military Affairs. It being his duty to appoint a cadet to the Military Academy at West Point, he selected a promising colored youth, who, as the first of his race to enter that Institution, passed through a severe ordeal of persecution.

WILLIAM S. HOLMAN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Holman served on the Committees on Claims, on Commerce, and on the Causes of the Reduction of American Tonnage. He earnestly advocated the principles of a Revenue Tariff in opposition to the policy of Protection. He was distinguished for his opposition to granting lands to corporations, and for his advocacy of the policy of holding them for the exclusive purpose of securing homesteads for actual settlers. His views on this subject are embodied in the following resolution, which was offered by him and adopted by the House :


Resolved, That in the judgment of this House the policy of granting subsidies in public lands to railroad and other corporations ought to be discontinued ; and that every consideration of public policy and equal justice to the whole people requires that the public lands of the United States should be held for the exclusive purpose of securing homesteads to actual settlers under the homestead and pre-emption laws, subject to reasonable appropriations of such lands for the purposes of education.

He repeatedly advocated the passage of different bills proposing the repeal of all laws authorizing the disposition of the public lands except the homestead and pre-emption laws. On the 29th of April, 1870, he delivered a speech on " Land Monopoly," of which the following is an extract :

I protest against this monopoly of the public lands in the name of every laboring man in America. I protest against it in the name of every laboring man who comes with his wife and children to our shores, fleeing from the curse of land monopoly in the Old World to rest under the shelter of equal laws in the New. I protest against this policy in the name of the shadowy future, the generations that are crowding upon us, for whom your policy will ripen like the fruit upon the Dead Sea, giving them a land teeming with opulence—opulence and corrupting luxury for the few ; for the great multitude poverty and wretchedness—the melancholy lesson of history again repeated. I know that your policy will increase the wealth of this country. If it were not so these lobbyists would not be here. You will increase the aggregate of the wealth of the nation, but it will be the wealth which builds palaces, and fills the whole land with the sigh of labor struggling for relief. The true wealth of a nation and its only glory is a virtuous, laborious, and contented people.

I protest against this policy because it is at war with every just idea of republican government. It strikes a subtle and fatal blow at the just equality of our people ; it is appropriating to individual citizens what belongs to a whole people ; it is robbing the laboring man of his rightful heritage ; it closes upon him the door to a career of honorable ambition. . . .

CHARLES H. HOLMES.

HARLES H. HOLMES was born at Albion, Orleans County, New York, October 24, 1827. After receiving a liberal education he studied law, and having been admitted to the bar he practiced his profession successfully in his native town, where he continues to reside.

On the resignation of the Hon. Noah Davis as Representative of the Twenty-eighth New York District in the Forty-first Congress Mr. Holmes was elected to fill the vacancy, receiving about 2,300 majority over the Democratic candidate. He took his seat in the House of Representatives on the first day of the third session of this Congress, December 6, 1870. He served on the Committee on Banking and Currency. He offered a resolution providing for the printing of extra copies of the report on the trade between the States and the Provinces. He presented a petition from certain disabled soldiers, praying an amendment to the Homestead Bill, so that in the case of soldiers actual settlement shall not be necessary to a grant. Mr. Holmes also presented the petition of sixty-six survivors of the War of 1812, representing that they have never been granted any pensions for services in such war; further representing that such soldiers are of the average age of seventy-five years; that many are suffering from sickness and want; that all are more or less disabled by age; that many are the occupants of poor-houses, etc.; and praying that pensions be granted to all such soldiers and their widows. This, the petition says, is not asked as a dole of charity, but as an honorable reward for services rendered in the defense of their country. During the brief remainder of the Forty-first Congress but little opportunity was afforded for a new Representative to do prominent service, yet Mr. Holmes served his constituents with faithfulness.

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SAMUEL HOOPER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Hooper was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, of which he became Chairman after the resignation of Mr. Schenck, appointed Minister to England. He was also a member of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. In a speech on the subject of International Coinage Mr. Hooper presented much valuable information relating to this important reform :

Two schemes or plans have been submitted, and are now under consideration in the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, which I will designate, for the purpose of easy reference, as follows :

The French or franc scheme, recommended by the United States Commissioner at the Paris Conference in 1867, Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, which proposes that the weight of the half eagle, or gold coin of the United States, shall be one hundred and twenty-four and nineteen-twentieths Troy grains, for the purpose of making the half eagle conform to a French gold coin of twenty-five francs.

The German or dollar scheme, which was so ably advocated by the gentleman from Philadelphia, [Mr. Kelley,] proposing that the gold dollar of the United States shall contain one and one-half grams of fine gold, and weigh one and two third grams of standard gold, so that two dollars shall contain three grams of fine gold, and three dollars in standard gold shall weigh precisely five grams. . . .


The concurrence of Great Britain and of the United States is the requisite antecedent to the adoption of the French or franc scheme, and the concurrence of Great Britain and France is requisite to secure unification of coinage as presented by the German or dollar scheme.

In view of the political and commercial relations and predominance of Great Britain and the United States, uniformity in their coinage is of the greatest importance to those two nations; and there is reason to believe that any system that secured that conformity would be soon adopted by Prussia, and probably by the other nations of Northern Europe.

The whole question, therefore, appears to demand that an attempt should be made to arrive at some agreement with Great Britain for an international coinage in which the nations of Continental Europe could be reasonably expected to join at no distant period.

A common coinage, if adopted, would produce great good. It would minister greatly to human convenience. The merchant especially would feel the change; so would the traveler; so also would the emigrant. It will furnish facilities that will quicken commerce, travel, and emigration. The coinage of each country would then be cosmopolitan and enjoy universal citizenship. But this great good cannot be accomplished without effort, without something even of sacrifice. Old habits must be abandoned. Prejudices must be given up. It remains to be seen which of the nations will take the lead in a generous surrender to accomplish this desirable object.

GILES W. HOTCHKISS.

 GILES W. HOTCHKISS was born in Windsor, Broome County, New York, October 25, 1815. He received a common-school education, and entered the profession of law, which he practiced in Binghamton. He was elected as a Representative from New York to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth and Forty-first Congresses.

Taking his seat in Congress for the third time on the 4th of March, 1869, Mr. Hotchkiss was assigned to the Committee of Claims, and the Select Committee on the causes of the reduction of American Tonnage. His first speech in the Forty-first Congress was in opposition to a bill to relieve certain persons from legal and political disabilities, in which he said :

I am for a general bill that shall prescribe terms upon which every man may be restored who can comply with those terms. I favor such a measure, not because these men deserve it, not because I have any special affection for rebels; but the people of these States now have the responsibility of self-government thrown upon them, and it will be a matter of convenience to them that they be allowed to select their own officers without having any obstacles in the shape of disabilities thrown in the way. They can judge better there when men are proposed for office of their fitness for the positions for which they are offered than we can judge here. Let us go right at the subject at once, so that the people may be at liberty to select any man who can conform to the regulations we prescribe.

Now, we want all the friends of what is called amnesty here to vote together; for in any event we have to have two-thirds of this House to adopt any such measure. Do not let us begin by satisfying the claims of A, and then the claims of B; for just as fast as we satisfy these men they have no further interest in the subject. Let us block the wheels of legislation upon this subject until we can act once for all, and have it out of the way. This has been a staple in politics long enough. I, for one, am tired of it.

EBON C. INGERSOLL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Ingersoll was Chairman of the Committee on Railways and Canals, and a member of the Committee on Commerce. On the 9th of June, 1870, Mr. Ingersoll delivered an elaborate speech on Finance, in which he advocated an expansion of the currency, adducing the lessons of history in support of his position as follows:

There is no fact better attested by history than this: that that nation which from the earliest period to the present day has shown the greatest amount of public and individual enterprise has been that nation which has had the largest amount of circulating medium. . . . During all the period of the growth of the Roman Empire there was a constant expansion of the currency; of course I mean a coin currency, as a paper currency was unknown at that time. There was no such thing known as a contraction of the circulating medium until the commencement of the decline of the Roman power. Under the reign of the Cæsars, when the Roman Empire had reached the very acme of its power and grandeur, we find, upon the best authorities, that the coin circulation of the civilized world was between eighteen and nineteen hundred million dollars. This was in the year 14; and about this time the mines of Spain and Greece, which had principally supplied the world with coin, became exhausted, and a period of contraction set in, and with this contraction commenced the decline of the Roman Empire.

The historian, Sir Archibald Alison, attributes the decline and fall of Rome to the falling off of the supply of the precious metals more than to all other causes combined. Rome owed more to the fact that she controlled the gold and silver mines of the world, and hence the coining of money, for her growth and power than to any and all other causes. For many centuries Rome was the center of civilization, as she was the center of exchanges. She controlled the trade and commerce of other nations, as London does now, only to a greater degree, and for the same reason—by reason of her money power.

At the period when contraction set in commenced at the same time the contraction of her power. The contraction of money and the contraction of power kept pace with each other until the once grand and all-powerful Roman Empire became extinct. At this period the circulating medium of the then civilized world had so far disappeared that but about one-tenth of the amount in circulation under the Cæsars remained, not exceeding in amount \$200,000,000.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what was the effect of this contraction upon the condition of Europe during that long period? That period included what is known as the "dark ages." Can any thing be more deplorable than was the condition of the human family during that long period of darkness and gloom! Ignorance and superstition were supreme; slavery and suffering were universal. The people sank down under the weight of their woes without ambition and without hope. The world literally slept, except when disturbed by some horrible nightmare of war having for its object the plunder and enslavement of a people.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Jenckes served on five committees, being Chairman of the Committee on Patents, of the Committee on the Reorganization of the Civil Service of the United States, and of the House branch of the Joint Committee on Ventilation, and a member of the Committee on Retrenchment, and the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States.

He continued to devote much attention to the great work of reforming the civil service, with which he was so prominently identified in the preceding Congress. In the first session of this Congress he introduced the Civil Service Bill, and supported it in a very able speech on the 5th of April, 1869. In the second session he reported the bill from the select committee on the civil service, and after three days' debate, in the morning hour, it was recommitted with several proposed amendments. He modified the bill to suit the recommendations of the President in his message to the third session, and caused it to be reported from the committee in the shape of a joint resolution. This resolution was offered by Mr. Trumbull in the Senate on the last night of the session as an amendment to the Civil Appropriation Bill, and was adopted. The effect of it is to give to the President the power of establishing regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service, and to govern their conduct when admitted, thus giving him power to do all that was contemplated by the Civil Service Bill itself if it had become a law.

Mr. Jenckes introduced a bill to establish a Department of Justice, which was referred to the Committee on Retrenchment, and was reported from that committee by him in April, 1870, becoming a law substantially as reported. The scope of the bill and the reasons for its passage were very succinctly presented by him in his remarks opening the debate.

He presented at the second session of this Congress a bill to revise, consolidate, and amend the patent and copyright laws. This bill was reported from the Committee on Patents in April, 1870. That portion of the bill which relates to "trade marks" is

entirely new, and was drafted by Mr. Jenckes. In the course of the debate on this subject he addressed to the House a speech full of learning and eloquence. "Under the beneficent provisions of these laws," said he, "the results of the inventive genius of our people have developed and are now being developed in almost geometrical progression. . . . The rise of this inventive genius is not like that of the tide, which must reach its limits and recede, but like the increase and swelling of a river, which will not diminish while its course, which is that of time itself, shall continue. There is nothing of which this nation may be more justly proud than its progress in the industrial and useful arts. No greater and more beneficial results to mankind have been attained in the whole history of the race than have been accomplished within the last three quarters of a century and within this country. If we look back over the whole history of invention we are surprised to see how meager and barren it is compared with what has been achieved almost within our time."

Mr. Jenckes gave his efficient support on the floor of the House to the bill for the printing and distribution of the complete records of the Patent-Office, which was reported from the Committee on Printing. He made brief but pertinent and telling speeches on the subject of the revision of the laws, and on the salaries of the judges.

As Chairman of the House branch of the Joint Committee on Ventilation, Mr. Jenckes made an elaborate report on that subject, containing a number of valuable reports and suggestions from engineers and others on the science of ventilation.

At the close of his long and useful term of congressional service, at the termination of the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Jenckes had the satisfaction of seeing that all the important measures of which he had had charge had become laws. The Bankrupt Law, the Department of Justice, the Revision of the Patent and Copyright Laws, and the reform in the civil service with which the President is now charged, are all statutory monuments to the wisdom and the statesmanship of Mr. Jenckes.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Johnson served on the Committee on the Revision of the Laws and the Committee on Patents. Early in the first session he asked leave to offer a resolution that in passing the resolution for the Fifteenth Amendment the House never intended that Chinese or Mongolians should become voters, which was refused by vote of 106 to 42. Pending the discussion of the Indian Appropriation Bill, Mr. Johnson gave the House some interesting statements concerning Indian reservations, three of which were in his own district:

The Indians of California are a harmless set of people. They are not warlike, as the Indians out upon the plains are, but when allowed to roam abroad they are like other Indians. They commit depredations upon the settlers; that is, the Indians who are not settled upon reservations. They constantly commit depredations upon the settlers, and are all the time involving our frontiers in war. I see by the papers received only this morning from California that in Humboldt and Trinity Counties, both of which are in my district, the citizens have to keep up an armed force at their own expense for the purpose of keeping the Indians there in subjection. Last year I tried to get Congress to give us another reservation for the purpose of collecting these Indians who are now warlike, in order that we might make them, as the other Indians there are, a peaceful and harmless people; but in that effort I failed.

In regard to the three reservations now kept up by the Government I will state this: that they cost less, in my judgment, than any other Indian reservations that the Government has established anywhere in the United States.

It is true, as stated by my colleague, that these Indians are good farm hands, and that when the grapes are being gathered they will work in the harvest-fields. They will pick grapes, and are as useful as other hands upon a farm; but as soon as their labor ceases, unless there is some one to care for them, because they are an ignorant people, they lapse back into vagrancy, and go about the country depredating upon the people's stock, and become a perfect nuisance. Under the present system you will see by the appropriations for these reservations in the past few years that they are becoming almost self-sustaining. At the reservations of Round Valley and Hoopa Valley they raise more grain than they need, and they sell it in large quantities to the settlers and the military posts near by. We have on these reservations, for the care of the young Indians, schools and churches; and, taking the report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at California, you will see that the Indians between the ages of six, seven, eight, and eighteen are in a fair way of becoming civilized. The proposition to do away with these reservations and to turn these Indians adrift upon the people of California, after we have got along with them so well under this system, is a monstrous idea in my judgment. I trust the House will not for one moment entertain the proposition to strike out these appropriations for the purpose of overthrowing the Indian reservation system in the State of California.

On the twenty-third of March, 1870, during the consideration of the Tariff question, Mr. Johnson endeavored to secure more liberal legislation in behalf of the wine-growing interests of California. His speech on this occasion contains some interesting facts in relation to the productions of his State. The following are some of the more rhetorical portions of the speech :

Among the best gifts to man is generous wine. It elevates him to a level with the gods, and he "dwells in mansions in the skies." In all ages of the world, to sit down in peace under the vine and fig-tree has been the ambition of those wishing happy repose. The fig-tree, like the olive, is said to be emblematical of peace and plenty, health and strength, freedom of thought, and happiness in religion ; but it is only so when coupled with the vine. Of itself it blesses not peace and plenty, it gives not health and strength, it has nothing to do with freedom of thought or with religion. But the vine, so beautiful to look upon, with its blossoms or its clusters of luscious bunches hanging on its branches, adorns the farmer's home, makes the father and mother happy, cheerful, and contented, while the offspring, when scattered through the world, look back to the old home as the most sacred spot on earth. Our home associations, more than all things else, have filled our country with men of greatness. Let us aid them in every way to stamp a never-fading picture of the old family home upon the heart of every child in America. . . . No man with soul can pass through the vine districts of California during that balmy, hazy season when the vines are rendering all nature mirthful and joyous, with their yellow, red, and golden vestments, and their rich clusters of luscious bunches, without thinking of the gods, and of the great blessings given to man by the one God supreme. . . . The grape-field is a joyous play-ground for children, remembered always with pleasurable emotions. For struggling manhood it has its charms ; but for old age it has its greatest attractions in rustling leaves, shady bowers, the busy hum about the wine-press, the music of birds as their notes of praise eddy away upon the air made sweet by a world in bloom. Amid such scenes cheerful old age rises while the dew of heaven is still watering the flowers, and renders thanks continually all the day for the blessings of prosperous and smiling peace. . . . No one can have a conception of the Garden of Eden without first having seen our orchards and vineyards in bloom, and then seen them straining under their delicious burdens of fruit. Still it would appear from our legislation to be the deliberate intention of the Congress to turn these beautiful and happy homes to hovels, the vineyards and orchards into desolate wastes. It is the hope of all who love California, notwithstanding the hostility of the Committee of Ways and Means, yet to see every farmer in the State devote a portion of his land to the growing of vines. The very nature of our soil and climate invited the farmer to do so until all were beginning to divide their grounds into vineyards, orchards, and grain fields. But finally the farmer was notified that Congress had passed a law absolutely forbidding him to receive any benefit from his grapes or other fruits over what he could eat.

ALEXANDER H. JONES.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Jones was a member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims and Public Expenditures. On the 1st of April, 1869, pending the bill for the reconstruction of Mississippi, feeling that he could not remain longer silent "without a keen remorse of conscience," he made a speech calling "the attention of Congress to the ill-fated class of Southern Unionists." The following is an extract from the latter portion of this speech :

Every effort of the Government should, without one hour's delay, be directed toward the casting out from our midst of this disgraceful murder system. We have cast out slavery, let us cast out manslaughter. There is more humanity in this work, and much more true glory, than in any other we have engaged in since the close of the war. The Government would have deserved infinitely more glory if the money and troops that were employed last year in chasing and fighting the Indians had been employed in ferreting out and destroying the professional murderers of the truest of its citizens. That would have been a work acceptable to God and all honest men all the world over. Now is the time to take the decisive step. The means at hand are more than ample, only the will seems to be wanting. Why allow gratuitously one single hour to embitter the existence of the Union women and children of the South? Shall we wait for still fresher victims, or can it be that the protection of the Union element is a task beyond the power of the Government? If so, let us say so undisguisedly, and put an end to the deceptions of hope. . . .

I heard a gentleman in this House endeavor to secure the sympathy of the Government for the Cretans, fighting against the Turks; another honorable member eloquently recommended our protection to the people of San Domingo. Let me state that, with all due deference for the opinions and motives of these gentlemen, I, with my heart set on the woeful state of our Union brothers in many sections of the South, could not help feeling a kind of surprise in seeing such distant objects of sympathy introduced in this House. Nor could I explain it by any other method than the common saying, that the things lying nearest to our eyes are frequently the least seen. It was but the other day that honorable gentlemen in the other House were earnestly discussing the question of protecting the furred animals of Alaska. Thrice happy quadrupeds! But yesterday added to the household of Uncle Sam, and known to us only by tradition, and already you are subjects of particular solicitude! Whatever the real condition of these distant ice-born furred animals be, and whether they want our protection or not, one thing is very apparent to my mind, and that is that they have not to contend against such a savage, overbearing, cold-blooded, fiendish, and relentless foe as the Union-hating banditti commonly called the Ku-Klux. I appeal to this Congress and to the Executive to hasten to the rescue of our own kin and neighbors, to the rescue of those with whose miseries we are or ought to be fully acquainted, and whom we see being cut off day by day.

THOMAS LAURENS JONES.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Jones served on the Committee on Banking and Currency, from which Committee he, with Hon. S. S. Cox, made the minority report on the "Causes of the Gold Panic." Mr. Jones was an earnest advocate of universal amnesty. Very early in this Congress he offered a resolution designed to promote this end, and his last act in Congress was to offer, about ten minutes before the final adjournment, a resolution for the removal of all political disabilities imposed by the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution. In support of the first resolution he made an elaborate speech, from which we make the following extract:

The war is ended, the experiment fought out, secession dead, and the Union cemented in brothers' blood. Can you not appropriate the fame of these fallen heroes to increase the strength and splendor of the Union? Can you not rise to the grandeur of forgiveness and perfect amnesty to their sons and followers, and all the survivors of this dreadful intestine war? Suppose, for a moment, that they had been the victors; can you imagine yourselves suppliants for pardon and amnesty, and they requiring you to humble yourselves at their feet and kiss the rod that smote you? But in the glory of triumph, rich in treasure, mighty in power, and on the high tide of boundless fortune, can you longer oppress and ostracize men of your own race who would be your brothers and build up your renown? They are men like yourselves; and if you expect them to acknowledge themselves traitors and felons, and come with suppliant knee and penitential reverence; if you expect them to ignore the credit of their great struggle to themselves, their surviving brethren, or their dead chieftains, and cease to praise the valor and lament the loss in freedom's battle of their fathers, sons, and brothers, you will be mistaken. You might as well expect the waters of the Potomac to roll back to the mountains, or carry the mountains to the sea. No; you may put their heads on the block, their bodies on the scaffold, or pluck their hearts from their bosoms, but you cannot make them forget their pride of race and manhood. Neither can they forget the achievements of their heroes or the fields of their glory. No, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, treat them like men, make them your friends by an act of perfect amnesty and grace, which shall be more beneficent in its influence than all your deeds of arms. Let them no longer pine in alienage and oppression. Give them not reason to exclaim,

"But 'tis past, and though blazoned in story
The name of our victors may be,
Accursed is the march of that glory
Which treads o'er the hearts of the free."

Mr. Speaker, the opportunity of the American Congress to restore a great brotherhood, to lift up and lighten heavy hearts, to reunite forty millions of people in interests, affection, and joint efforts to promote the well-regulated liberty of our common country, is at hand and invites our embrace.

NORMAN B. JUDD.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Judd in the Forty-first Congress served on the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In discussing the bill for taking the Ninth Census Mr. Judd said :

“The history of the past eight years shows how important accurate statistics of the wealth of the country and of all its material resources would have been to the legislator called upon suddenly to devise and adopt a system of internal taxation necessary to the preservation of the credit, and I might say the life, of the country. Want of such information caused him to seize upon any means of devising a revenue, and it was not so much a question of equality in distribution as the amount that could be obtained. To-day our credit, which has stood in the balance, is improving. The basis of that credit is our national wealth; and a full and complete exhibition of that national wealth will show, not only to the legislators who must levy the taxes to meet our indebtedness, but also to our creditors and to others, the means we have to meet our obligations.

“If the system proposed by this bill shall be faithfully carried out, Congress will have the information to enable it to deal justly with all the varied interests—relieving those that are oppressed by taxation, and making the burdens fall upon those that can most easily bear them. The national importance of this measure being conceded by every gentleman upon this floor, the question arises, In what manner can the facts and statistics be most accurately and successfully gathered and spread before the people, and before our creditors and others interested in the welfare of this country? When such results are sought is the question to be made whether a few thousand dollars more or less should be expended to produce them? With a due regard to the interests of our country, and a proper and just economy, we should rather take the chance of expending a few dollars in excess of what a strict economy might seem to require than to jeopardize for one moment the accuracy and thoroughness of the statistics that are to be obtained by this enumeration of the population and wealth of the country.”

Mr. Judd advocated a new organization of officials for this especial purpose, whose attention should not be called off to other duties.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Julian in the Forty-first Congress was again appointed to the chairmanship of the Committee on Public Lands, and he was also placed upon the Select Committee on Reconstruction. As Chairman of the former Committee he reported back to the House a bill, with a recommendation that it pass, to confirm to two settlers in the Yosemite Valley their pre-emption claims there. Mr. Julian presented the case as follows:

In 1864 the Congress of the United States granted to the State of California the Yosemite Valley in that State in perpetual reservation as a pleasure ground and a spectacle of wonder. This valley is a deep gorge in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, some nine or ten miles long, and not exceeding three miles in its greatest width. Over the granite walls of this valley, which are nearly perpendicular, the waters of the Mercer River fall from thirty-five to fifty-five hundred feet in the grandest cascades in the known world. And on account of its marvelous beauty and grandeur Congress thought it wise to dedicate the valley, not to the use of settlers, but for the purposes I have mentioned, for all time. After the enactment of this law, however, it was found that two settlers were in the valley claiming the right of pre-emption under the laws of the United States; that they had built their houses there, planted their orchards and vineyards, and expended some thousands of dollars in money in making homes for themselves. On ascertaining these facts the Legislature of California provided by law that, under the circumstances, one hundred and sixty acres of land should be reserved to each of these settlers. . . . This bill is simply to confirm the acts of the Legislature of California.

The bill, after some discussion, was by a large majority laid upon the table. Just previous to the presentation of the above bill, on the same day, Mr. Julian, for the same committee, presented a bill providing that any settler complying with the provisions of the pre-emption laws shall be deemed to have a vested right in the land upon which he settles. Being asked if that was not the law already, Mr. Julian replied that he always supposed so, and it was so understood by the whole country; and he proceeded with a brief speech denouncing a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States controverting such a theory:

One of the new things under the sun occasioning the necessity for the passage of this bill is a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that settlers on the public lands have no rights at all, and are mere tenants at will. . . . But I assert, and I submit it to every lawyer who hears me, that it is an opinion that would do no honor to any judge of a county court. . . .

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Kelley served during the Forty-first Congress as a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and as Chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. As a member of the Committee of Ways and Means he participated largely in discussions relating to finance and revenue. He was a leading advocate of a protective tariff, making numerous and able speeches on this subject. Among these was his elaborate speech delivered March 25, 1870, entitled "Pennsylvania: her Relations to the Industries of the Country." In this speech he maintained with much learning and logical ability the propositions that "Protection cheapens commodities;" that "the Internal Revenue System is expensive and inquisitorial and should be abolished at the earliest possible day;" that "Free Trade means low wages and limited market for grain;" that "Protective Duties are not a tax;" that "England is a hideous monopoly, and Free Trade supports it;" that "Protection stimulates Immigration;" that "skilled workmen are the most valuable commodity we can import," and that "the present law should be revised, not overthrown." The following is the closing paragraph of this able speech:

Now, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I plead with the gentlemen of the Committee to forget their sectional feelings, to put aside party strife, to remember that the glory and the power of their country depend on the prosperity, intelligence, and aspiring hopes of the laboring people and their children. I beg them, as I know they all love their country, to stand by her industries, and to aid the poor and oppressed laborers of other lands to escape from a diet of "rye and potatoes" to a land of free schools and liberal wages, in which the daily fare of the family will be of wheat, mutton, beef, or pork, with the vegetables and the fruits of all the States of our broad and then assuredly prosperous country.

Mr. Kelley's labors as Chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures promise to be of great benefit to the country in promoting the adoption of a system of international coinage. He proposed a bill looking to the adoption of our dollar as the unit for international coinage, which occasioned much favorable comment in Europe, and called forth a number of pamphlets in foreign languages. On the 13th of April, 1870, he delivered a speech in

the House on this subject, in which he gave the reasons why America should lead in this great reform :

We were the first nation to establish a decimal coinage. More than three years after the fathers of the country had adopted the dollar, divisible into decimal and cental fractions, France followed the example. And recently Canada has adopted our entire system of coinage, at least our dollar and cent. So, sir, I believe the nations will, as they are adopting the metric system of weights, gradually come to adopt our system of coinage, which is simple, and so easy of calculation that the method of reducing or multiplying it can be made familiar to the children of all countries.


Again, sir, we were the first to suggest to the nations the advantages to result from the establishment of an international coinage. Among the many able papers prepared by John Quincy Adams, none was, in my judgment, marked by greater ability or originality than his report on international coinage, made in 1823, while he was Secretary of State, and addressed to all the Governments near which we had representatives. And still again, and with even greater emphasis, sir, the commanding relations we are soon to hold to the world's commerce demand that we marshal this reform. Our country, before this generation shall expire, is to be the center of the monetary exchanges of the world. To-day London, Paris, and Frankfort are the great money centers, and our population numbers about forty millions. Twenty years hence we shall be eighty million people, in the fullest enjoyment of steam and telegraphic communication with the two hundred and fifty million people on the other side of the Atlantic, and with the more than one thousand million of equally busy people on the other side of the Pacific, who are emerging from the isolation of the past and taking their place among the commercial nations of the world, and between them our railroads will be the principal highways. Twenty years hence we shall be eighty million people, and at the close of the century one hundred million. Our wealth more than quadruples while our population doubles, and at the end of this century San Francisco and New York, bound by telegraphic communication, and with bankers and merchants doing business in both cities, will constitute the money centers of the world, and then the calculations of its commerce and the settlement of balances will be made in our dollar. To it, with its simple decimal divisions and its simple relation to the accepted unit of coinage and postal weight, England, France, and the six States that have allied themselves with France must come. Indeed, sir, the day for this consummation approaches more rapidly than we appreciate. At this time Russia, Germany, Spain, and other nations, including more than two hundred million people, use coins which are in almost absolute harmony with our own; while the Latin league, as the countries which have engaged by treaty to use the French system till 1880 are called, embrace at most but eighty-six million people—the number being probably less than eighty millions.

Mr. Kelley opposed the registry of foreign-built ships, which was urged in view of the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian war. He delivered a speech advocating the acquisition of San Domingo.



J. M. W. W.

STEPHEN W. KELLOGG.

TEPHEN W. KELLOGG was born at Shelburne, Massachusetts, April 5, 1822; graduated at Yale College in 1846; studied law, was admitted to the Bar, and has since 1854 practiced at Waterbury; was Clerk of the State Senate of Connecticut in 1851; was a member of the State Senate in 1853, and of the State House of Representatives in 1856; was Judge of the New Haven County Court in 1854; was elected Judge of Probate in 1854, and held the office six years; and was a delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1860 and 1868.

He was elected a Representative from Connecticut to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican from a District that had given 2,700 Democratic majority at the last previous State election, and, taking his seat April 9, 1869, was appointed a member of the Committee on the Judiciary. He was active in his opposition to the income tax, having introduced the first bill in the House for its reduction or repeal. The following is an extract from one of his speeches on the tax bill, delivered June 2, 1870:

I trust the House will strike out all these provisions for the continuance of the income tax, and end the obnoxious thing forever. The people demand at our hands a reduction of taxation, and they demand it now. They ask that its burdens be lightened, and they ask that it be done now. It is of vastly more importance to the business of the country that taxation should be moderately reduced, than it is to pay off large amounts of the public debt speedily. Enough of taxation should be retained for the expenses of the Government, the payment of bounties and pensions, the interest of the public debt, and enough of the principal to strengthen the public credit, and give assurance of the constant reduction and final payment of the debt. But when the statement of the public debt for June 1, as sent to us yesterday by the Secretary of the Treasury, shows that the reduction of the debt during the month of May has been the enormous sum of \$14,301,962 57, or nearly half a million a day drained from the channels of the business of the country, and that the whole reduction of the

debt since March 1, 1870, has been \$31,766,105 39. I ask the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means if he does not think the business of the country deserves a little more relief than his proposed reduction of taxation of only about thirty-three million dollars annually.

The history of this tax in Great Britain was given yesterday by my honorable friend from New York. The statesmen of that country had exhausted every other source of taxation before Mr. Pitt ventured upon this measure, in the struggle that was then going on for the supremacy, if not for the existence of her power. Every other species of taxation had long before been exercised, and this was the last devilish invention. She had had taxes upon marriages, taxes upon births, and taxes upon burials. A duke had formerly paid fifty pounds tax on his marriage, and thirty pounds tax on the birth of his eldest son. There had been special taxes on bachelors over twenty-five, and I know my friend from Maine [Mr. Hale] and others here would object to that provision in our law. There had also been special taxes on widowers who had no children. The old story of her all pervading system of taxation is familiar; it was like the plague of Egypt, that entered even their dwellings, their bed-chambers, and their kneading-troughs. They taxed every thing but God's own sunshine, and they even taxed that, for they had their "window tax;" and according to the number of panes of glass was the light taxed that entered cottage or palace. But yet this income tax of Mr. Pitt was so unpopular that when it expired, six months after the close of the war, there was a general cry of joy and relief all over the realm.

The following is an extract from the speech of Mr. Kellogg in the House, February 18, 1871, on the M'Garrahan case:

From the commencement of the hearing the friends of M'Garrahan have enveloped the committee, as with clouds, with all sorts of charges of fraud and rascality upon the courts. The highest and purest judicial officers in the land, the Attorneys-General in a line for the last twelve years, including such men as Black, Stanton, and Edward Bates, the living and the dead, have been alike subject to their remorseless and scandalous charges; no character so high as to escape their vilification; no man, living or dead, so pure, who has stood in their way, as to avoid their charges of infamy and corruption. Of course it would follow that all sorts of charges might be expected against the officers in the Interior Department when the patent did not issue. . . .

Sir, when all things that are pure, all things that are lovely, and all things that are of good report and reputation, are swept over and besmeared with wholesale charges of fraud and corruption from a single source, it is time to look a little at the purity of the fountain from which these charges spring. The frauds and perjuries that have been proved in court, and are fast fixed upon its records, are those of Gomez and his fellow-conspirators to secure this land, and his corrupt tool, Pacificus Ord. The cry of "stop thief" is heard sometimes in the committee-rooms, and upon the floor of Congress, as well as upon the sidewalk and on the highway.

WILLIAM H. KELSEY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Kelsey served on the Committee on Appropriations and Accounts. He occupied but little of the time of the House with speech-making. His most extended remarks were made in defense of the Committee on Appropriations of the preceding Congress :

“ There was an earnest effort made by that committee to reduce the expenses in the different departments of the Government by reducing the appropriations, and in one of the bills a provision was inserted that no greater amount should be expended by the Departments than was appropriated by the bill ; but the men who had charge of the expenditures of this money disregarded entirely that provision of law. They have never endeavored at all to conform their expenses to the specific amounts appropriated, have never tried to carry out the views of the Committee on Appropriations and the action of Congress in appropriating money for the expenses of the departments. They have gone on just as though no direction had been made by Congress ; they have utterly disregarded the action of Congress, and it is because they have done so that the introduction of this bill is rendered necessary.

“ When the Committee on Appropriations of the last Congress were exerting themselves to reduce the expenditures of the Government in all its branches they were encouraged in the course they took by the action of both Houses of Congress ; but now it seems, because men in the departments who have assumed the right to expend more money than was appropriated, so as to cause a deficiency, and because they now come in and ask that further appropriations be made, and the Committee on Appropriations are willing to give it to them, now it seems that the Committee on Appropriations of the last Congress are to be arraigned and denounced for it.

“ Now I insist that the efforts made by the Committee on Appropriations of the last Congress were made in good faith to reduce the expenditures of the Government. Perhaps their efforts were not always made in the wisest manner, but, such as those efforts were, they were sanctioned by both Houses of Congress.”

MICHAEL C. KERR.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Kerr served during the Forty-first Congress on the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Elections. He made many able speeches on election cases, and on subjects relating to reconstruction and the judiciary. On the 29th of March, 1869, he addressed the House on the Bill to amend the Judiciary :

If there is one institution in our country which more than any other should challenge the vigilant and affectionate solicitude of every citizen for its integrity and protection it is our Federal judiciary. In that department, if its absolute purity and independence be properly maintained, is the surest anchorage of our system of government against the encroachments of the other departments. In it is the highest safety of the citizen against the invasions of power upon the rights of property and the liberties of the people. We should look with distrust upon any proposition materially to change it.

Of the pending bill he said :

The first objection is that it undertakes, as a pioneer measure, as an initial enactment, to introduce into our system of government the practice of pensioning retired officers. It proposes to pension judges not only of the Supreme Court, but of the circuit and district courts, whether State or territorial; to pension all of them after they have served in a judicial capacity for ten years. It is the first attempt, so far as I know, to organize in this country a civil list, a pension list of retired officers, and that, too, upon full pay. I think it is intrinsically a pernicious and a vicious proposition. I think it is not in harmony with the principles of our Government, with the principle of representative, elective, republican government. . . . Once establish the practice of retiring and pensioning officers, although now limited to the judiciary, and it will be speedily extended to numerous other classes and will soon become a great source of additional expenditure, and, in my judgment, a very great evil. Establish the principle and its rapid growth will be assured. . . .

We should carefully avoid every measure that may tend to erect an aristocracy of office-holders in our country. We need no such evil, and it will come soon enough without the aid of legislation. The country can poorly resist the assaults of its army of office-seekers and their corrupting influences upon the Government and people. But if you encourage the multitude of men in office on the approach of age to enter into a struggle and form combinations to relieve themselves of the discharge of official duties, and yet retain the rewards and emoluments of office, you very greatly increase all these evils.


After Mr. Mungen had made his speech in favor of Repudiation, Mr. Kerr entered his disclaimer :

I think it is an act of duty to myself and those I represent, and I believe—and I say it with becoming modesty—to the whole Democratic party of this country, to say that I do not indorse repudiation in any form, and that I do not believe that that great and honorable party of which I have the honor to be an humble member indorses any such theory.



Charles Briggs

CHARLES KNAPP.

 CHARLES KNAPP was born in Colchester, Delaware County, New York, October 8, 1797. His opportunities for education were slender; yet struggling by the aid of such scanty facilities as the settlement afforded, and closely applying himself to his books, though without a teacher, he became qualified to serve as one of the schoolmasters of the town. He taught school through several terms, giving all his wages to aid his father, who had become involved in pecuniary embarrassments. In 1825 he engaged in merchandise and lumbering, continuing the business with varied success till 1848, when, "with a well-earned and deserved competence," he removed to Deposit, where he established his permanent residence. During his long residence at Colchester he filled with fidelity almost every office in the gift of its people, and in 1841 was sent by the county to the State Legislature, serving there with honor to himself and credit to his constituents. A few years after his change of residence he engaged in the business of banking, which he has ever since prosecuted with much and continued prosperity. "Of the character of Mr. Knapp," writes one, "we need say nothing to those who know him. Among the thousand hills of Delaware he is known as a man of plain, invincible integrity and honesty, in whom the people have confidence; and so all along the banks of the noble river that Delaware sends from its mountains to the sea, his name is known to every raftsman as the synonym of business ability, financial safety, and personal worth."

In the great struggle from 1848 to 1856 Mr. Knapp was a Free-soiler, and hence was found in the ranks of the Republicans when that great party assumed the helm of national affairs. Hav-

ing been unanimously nominated for the Forty-first Congress, it was represented of him that "from the time when treason struck its deadly fangs at the heart of freedom, Mr. Knapp has been a true man; and he stands to-day entirely worthy of the high honor of representing his patriotic district in the halls of Congress." "Though somewhat advanced in years," says another, "he is in the full and vigorous exercise of fine natural powers, the result of a life of industry, frugality, and temperance. His early history was marked by those vicissitudes which develop and strengthen the American character, and make men fit for any branch of public service to which they may be called. Yet another testimony presents Mr. Knapp as a man in every sense of the word capable for the position of a National Representative: "As an ardent Republican, the principles of the party are safe in his hands. As a man, his character is unblemished; as one of the people, he will ever be devoted to their interests. As Grant and Colfax and Griswold are self-made men, men rising up from the humble walks of life by pure native genius and inborn talent, so is Mr. Knapp. Once a raftsmen, now a banker; once poor and toiling, the labors of his hands and the sweat of his brow have gained him an eminence of wealth and distinction; and amid the crowning glories of his life's efforts he is not unmindful of those who make up the bone and sinew of the nation. Elected to the important position of Congressman, it will be his sole aim to give strength and propulsion to the principles of a pure democracy, and the interests of his constituents will ever be safe in his hands."

Mr. Knapp was elected by a handsome majority, and took his seat in the House March 4, 1869. He was placed on the Committee on Public Expenditures and Revolutionary Pensions. Not a man of many words or speeches, Mr. Knapp sustained, however, as a member of the House of Representatives, his high character as a true and wise man of inflexible integrity. A resolution passed by a Convention of his District indicated that the fidelity and ability with which he discharged his congressional duties were fully appreciated by his constituents.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Knott served during the Forty-first Congress on the Committees of the District of Columbia and Private Land Claims. His speeches are remarkable for their wit and humor. No speech delivered in either House during the Forty-first Congress attracted more attention than that of Mr. Knott, delivered January 27, 1871, on the St. Croix and Bayfield Railroad, of which the following extracts are given :

Years ago, when I first heard that there was somewhere in the vast *terra incognita*, somewhere in the bleak regions of the great North-west, a stream of water known to the nomadic inhabitants of the neighborhood as the river St. Croix, I became satisfied that the construction of a railroad from that raging torrent to some point in the civilized world was essential to the happiness and prosperity of the American people, if not absolutely indispensable to the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent. [Great laughter.] I felt instinctively that the boundless resources of that prolific region of sand and pine shrubbery would never be fully developed without a railroad constructed and equipped at the expense of the Government, and perhaps not then. [Laughter.] I had an abiding presentiment that some day or other the people of this whole country, irrespective of party affiliations, regardless of sectional prejudices, and "without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," would rise in their majesty and demand an outlet for the enormous agricultural productions of those vast and fertile pine barrens, drained in the rainy season by the surging waters of the turbid St. Croix. [Great laughter.] . . .

I was utterly at a loss to determine where the terminus of this great and indispensable road should be until I accidentally overheard some gentleman the other day mention the name of "Duluth." [Great laughter.] Duluth! The word fell upon my ear with a peculiar and indescribable charm, like the gentle murmur of a low fountain stealing forth in the midst of roses, or the soft, sweet accents of an angel's whisper in the bright, joyous dream of sleeping innocence. Duluth! 'Twas the name for which my soul had panted for years, as the hart panteth for the water-brooks. [Renewed laughter.] But where was Duluth? Never in all my limited reading had my vision been gladdened by seeing the celestial word in print. [Laughter.] And I felt a profounder humiliation in my ignorance that its dulcet syllables had never before ravished my delighted ear. [Roars of laughter.] I was certain the draughtsman of this bill had never heard of it, or it would have been designated as one of the termini of this road. I asked my friends about it, but they knew nothing of it. I rushed to the library and examined all the maps I could find. [Laughter.] I discovered in one of them a delicate, hair-like line, diverging from the Mississippi near a place marked Prescott, which I supposed was intended to represent the river St. Croix, but I could nowhere find Duluth.

Nevertheless I was confident it existed somewhere, and that its discovery would constitute the crowning glory of the present century if not of all modern times. [Laughter.] I knew it was bound to exist in the very nature of things;

that the symmetry and perfection of our planetary system would be incomplete without it, [renewed laughter :] that the elements of material nature would long since have resolved themselves back into original chaos if there had been such a hiatus in creation as would have resulted from leaving out Duluth. [Roars of laughter.] . . .

But, thanks to the beneficence of that band of ministering angels who have their bright abodes in the far-off capital of Minnesota, just as the agony of my anxiety was about to culminate in the frenzy of despair, this blessed map was placed in my hands, and as I unfolded it a resplendent scene of ineffable glory opened before me, such as I imagine burst upon the enraptured vision of the wandering Peri through the opening gates of paradise. [Renewed laughter.] There, there, for the first time, my enchanted eye rested upon the ravishing word "Duluth."

This map, sir, is intended, as it appears from its title, to illustrate the position of Duluth in the United States; but if gentlemen will examine it, I think they will concur with me in the opinion that it is far too modest in its pretensions. It not only illustrates the position of Duluth in the United States, but exhibits its relations with all created things. It even goes further than this. It lifts the shadowy veil of futurity, and affords us a view of the golden prospects of Duluth far along the dim vista of ages yet to come.

If gentlemen will examine it they will find Duluth not only in the center of the map, but represented in the center of a series of concentric circles one hundred miles apart, and some of them as much as four thousand miles in diameter, embracing alike in their tremendous sweep the fragrant savannas of the sunlit South and the eternal solitudes of snow that mantle the ice-bound North. [Laughter.] How these circles were produced is perhaps one of those primordial mysteries that the most skillful paleologist will never be able to explain. [Renewed laughter.] But the fact is, sir, Duluth is pre-eminently a central place, for I am told by gentlemen who have been so reckless of their own personal safety as to venture away into these awful regions where Duluth is supposed to be, that it is so exactly in the center of the visible universe that the sky comes down at precisely the same distance all around it. [Roars of laughter.] . . .

I think every gentleman on this floor is as well satisfied as I am that Duluth is destined to become the commercial metropolis of the universe, and that this road should be built at once. . . . Nevertheless, sir, it grieves my very soul to be compelled to say that I cannot vote for the grant of lands provided in this bill. . . . These lands which I am asked to give away, alas! are not mine to bestow! My relation to them is simply that of trustee to an express trust, and shall I ever betray that trust? Never, sir! Rather perish Duluth. [Shouts of laughter.] Perish the paragon of cities. Rather let the freezing cyclones of the bleak North-west bury it forever beneath the eddying sands of the raging St. Croix. [Great laughter.]

ADDISON H. LAFLIN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Laflin was Chairman of the Committee on Printing, and a member of the Select Committee on the Ninth Census. During the discussion in the House of the bill to abolish the Franking Privilege, it having been stated that the adoption of the measure would have the effect greatly to lessen the cost of public printing, Mr. Laflin made a statement of some interesting facts and figures :

I am not prepared to sanction by my vote a statement that shall go forth to the country that we are to save millions of dollars, or anywhere near such a sum of money even in the public printing, by the abolition of the Franking Privilege. Year in and year out every now and then, in papers respectable in their character, highly influential, regarded as the very first authority, I see statements circulated that the cost of the congressional printing amounts to millions of dollars. If I had at my hand, as I have at my room, a copy of perhaps the most influential journal in the United States, published in the city of New York, recognized as good Republican authority at least, I might quote from that paper and show that there is a statement therein that while the Government Printing Office years ago only cost \$200,000, it now costs over \$2,000,000. These are very easy statements to make, not very flattering to Congress, but nevertheless they are not sustained by facts and the record. If there has been any tendency to extravagance in the public printing it certainly does not apply to the last three Congresses ; and I want to say here in behalf of my associates, in behalf of Congresses in whose reputation and character I have a little at stake, that we are being held responsible all over this country for expenditures that are made beyond and outside of the votes which we cast here in favor of these expenditures. And now that we may know just exactly the cost of the public printing of the House of Representatives and Senate, who esteem the privilege of sending out these public documents so highly, I quote from the last report of the Congressional Printer, submitted to this House :

“ The amount of printing, binding, lithographing, and engraving ordered by the House of Representatives for the last year was \$440,422 '88.”

And in explaining this amount I want the country to understand that over three hundred and fifty thousand dollars of this amount was expended upon three books : first, the Agricultural Report, costing a little over one hundred thousand dollars ; second, the Mechanical Report, costing a little over two hundred thousand dollars ; and the balance was applied to the *Globe*.

Of the amount I have stated over one hundred thousand dollars were expended for the Agricultural Report, and that report, bound and executed as it is, costs the Government just about fifty-two cents a volume.

Now I want to know how many farmers there are, economical though they may be, who will say that this Congress is extravagant, even though it must make a discrimination in sending out these books, in giving the information contained in these books to the people at a cost of only fifty-two cents a volume.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Lawrence was a member of the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Reconstruction, and the Committee on the Postal Telegraph.

As Chairman of a Select Committee in the preceding Congress he had made a voluminous Report on the election frauds in the City and State of New York, recommending the enactment of laws to secure the rights of naturalized foreigners but to prevent naturalization frauds, providing for a uniform day throughout the United States for the election of Representatives in Congress, and proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Presidential Electors in single districts.

The Act of July 14, 1870, in relation to naturalization, and the Act of May 31, 1870, to enforce the right of citizens to vote, were, in essential and important provisions, copied from this Report. A bill for the election of Representatives on a uniform day passed both Houses of Congress, but only failed to become a law by reason of a disagreement as to an apportionment of Representatives. The proposition for an Amendment of the Constitution was urged in an able paper, read by Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., before the American Association of Social Science at New York, October 27, 1869.

The Act of June 22, 1870, to establish a Department of Justice, a measure which saves more than \$100,000 annually in expenditures for law services to the Government, was, in most of its provisions, the work of Mr. Lawrence. He is the author of that provision of the Act of July 15, 1870, which gives soldiers a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres in the alternate reserved sections of land in railroad grants, under which they have secured so many homes. In behalf of education for colored citizens he secured an appropriation, in the Act of July 15, 1870, of \$25,000 for the Wilberforce University in Ohio. As a member of the Reconstruction Committee, he was among the most earnest and efficient in procuring enactments in the Reconstruction Laws securing equal political privileges regardless of race or color.

He made earnest efforts to procure the enactment of a law to

pay pensions, in the county where pensioners reside, bi-monthly, and, though this failed, the result of the discussions was that the system was so changed as to pay quarterly instead of semi-annually, and to relieve pensioners from the payment of Pension Agents' fees, and to prohibit Claim Agents' charges. This has been a vast saving annually to pensioners, and they owe Mr. Lawrence a debt of gratitude for his persistent efforts to secure these reforms.


Among the last of the measures he advocated in Congress was a bill giving a right of action in the District of Columbia and in the Territories to wives, parents, etc., against persons who, by selling intoxicating liquor, cause the intoxication of husbands, children, etc., resulting in damage. This measure met the approval of the House, and was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading by a decisive vote, but failed for want of time. In a speech advocating this measure Mr. Lawrence said :

The evils of intemperance are daily manifest and appalling. And shall no voice be raised to stay the evil by law? I have not even proposed to interfere with the liquor traffic. But when husbands are destroyed by intoxicating drinks, shall wives have no remedy by law for the wrongs and injuries done them? Shall little children, robbed of the means of support, and turned over to beggary by the ruin of a father, have no redress, no right of action against the destroyer for his wrongs upon them?

Mr. Lawrence introduced a bill "To secure to the citizens of the United States the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and in relation to the commercial intercourse with Canada." He advocated this measure in an elaborate speech, of which the following is the opening paragraph :

The measure now submitted is one especially involving the interests of the States bordering on and tributary to the great lakes, and to some extent those of the whole country. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the general policy of free trade or of a tariff, because with the increased revenues rendered necessary by the rebellion absolute free trade is utterly impracticable. We must raise revenues by a tariff, or increase internal revenues and levy taxes for the national Government on lands, neither of which the people can endure. But in regulating trade on this Continent, as well as with the nations of Europe and Asia, we should not overlook the great interests of the producing and laboring portion of our citizens. It is in their interest that I have submitted this measure.

JOSEPH H. LEWIS.

 JOSEPH H. LEWIS was born in Barren County, Kentucky, October 29, 1824. He graduated in 1843 at Center College, Danville, Kentucky, and studied and practiced law. He was elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives in 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1869. During the war of the Rebellion he served as an officer in the army of the "Confederate States." He served with distinction in that unhappy struggle, reaching the rank of Brigadier-General.

In April, 1870, Mr. Lewis was elected a representative from Kentucky to the Forty-first Congress, in place of J. S. Golladay. The Committee on Military Affairs having been instructed by the House to inquire into the alleged sale of appointments to the military and naval academies by members of Congress, Mr. Golladay notified the Speaker of the House that he had "tendered his resignation to the State of Kentucky as a member of Congress." The Governor of Kentucky refused to accept the resignation, and a resolution was proposed that Mr. Golladay be permitted to resume his seat. The House, however, refused to entertain the resolution, and the Speaker gave it as his opinion that Mr. Golladay was "no more a member of the House than any stranger in the gallery."

Mr. Lewis having been elected to the seat thus made vacant, and having been relieved of political disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, was sworn in March 10, 1870, taking the oath in such case provided. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. During his service of less than a year in the Forty-first Congress he found but little opportunity for prominent participation, and made no speeches to the House. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Logan was Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad. The measure with which Mr. Logan was most prominently identified was that for the Reduction of the Army. "We propose," said he, in explanation of this measure, "to reduce the number of officers in the army by mustering out a number equal to the number who are now without commands, to reduce the rank of some officers, and to change the law as it now exists in reference to the army in many respects." The following extracts from his elaborate speech of March 10, 1870, in explanation and advocacy of this measure, are of general interest :

Let me call the attention of the House to a comparison between the number of officers and men in the Army before the war of 1861 and the present peace establishment.

In 1860 how many generals had we in the Army of the United States? There was no General of the Army, no Lieutenant-General. There were but one major-general, three brigadier-generals, and one brigadier-general of the staff.

In 1860 there were, I believe, eighteen regiments in the Army, with 12,931 men. How is it to-day? In 1869 and 1870 we have an army of 37,909 men and officers. What is the proportion of officers to men in 1870? There are now, as I said, 37,909 men, one General, one Lieutenant-General, five major-generals, eight brigadier-generals now in service, and two vacancies, making ten brigadier-generals authorized by law, besides eight brigadier-generals on the staff, and eight or ten major-generals and brigadier-generals on the retired list: making in all, not counting these retired officers, eighteen brigadier-generals in our Army, five major-generals, one Lieutenant-General, and one General. Such is the condition of things at this time.

Now let us compare this ratio of officers to men with what it was in 1860. In the latter year the Army was organized on a certain basis, with a force numbering say 13,000 men, and the proportion of generals was one to five and four-ninths regiments. To-day it is one general to one and two-thirds regiments.

In 1860 we had but one general officer to 3,233 men; in 1870 we have one general officer to 1,630 men. That is the proportion of generals to men. Now let me call the attention of the House to the staff corps of the Army. I assert here to-day, and I can prove it from the records, that the staff of our Army, consisting of 37,000 men, is as large as the French Government has with an army of 500,000, or the Russian Government with an army of 800,000. In 1860 there were thirteen officers in the Adjutant-General's Department; in 1870 there are twenty officers, or a difference of seven. In 1860 there were two officers in the Inspector-General's Department; in 1869 and 1870 we have nine officers, or a difference of seven. In 1860 there was one officer in the Bureau of Military Justice; in 1870 we have ten officers in that bureau, or a difference of nine.

In 1860 there were forty-four officers in the Quartermaster-General's Department; in 1869 and 1870 we have eighty-six officers in that department, or a difference of forty-two. In 1860 there were eleven officers in the Subsistence Department; in 1870 we have twenty-nine in that department, or a difference of eighteen. In 1860 there were one hundred and seven officers in the Medical Department; in 1869 and 1870 we have two hundred and twenty-two in that department, or a difference of one hundred and fifteen. In the Pay Department in 1860 there were twenty-eight paymasters; in the same department in 1869 we have sixty-five paymasters, making a difference of thirty-seven. In the Engineer Corps in 1860 we had eighty-nine officers; in the engineer staff of 1870 we have one hundred and fourteen. In the Ordnance Department in 1860 there were fifty-five officers; in that department in 1870 we have seventy-seven, making a difference of twenty-two. Of post chaplains we have thirty, where in 1860 there were none. There is the difference.

Now there is a staff corps numbering how many? The staff of our Army in 1860 amounted to three hundred and fifty officers; in 1869 it amounts to six hundred and sixty-three, being an addition of three hundred and thirteen.

Now let me give you the rank of the staff corps of the Army. In 1860 we had one brigadier-general; in 1869 we have eight—a difference of seven. Of colonels in the staff corps we had, in 1860, eleven; in 1869 we have twenty-nine—a difference of eighteen. Of lieutenant-colonels we had ten; now we have forty-two—a difference of thirty-two. Of majors there were, in 1860, seventy-five; in 1869 we have two hundred, making a difference of one hundred and twenty-five. In 1860 we had one hundred and sixty captains; in 1869 there are one hundred and thirty-four. Strange to say, there are fewer captains in the staff corps to-day than there were when our Army was much smaller. The explanation is, that the difference is made up by the number of surplus majors, lieutenant-colonels, colonels, and brigadier-generals. In 1860 we had thirty lieutenants in the staff corps; in 1869 there are twenty-five. There are fewer lieutenants, as well as captains, now than we had in 1860; but the number of brigadier-generals, colonels, and majors are increased to make up for the difference.


I want to call the attention of the country to this matter, because the figures I am now giving have probably never been given to the House or the country before. I am giving them from the record. I want to call attention to this enormous staff corps and the manner in which our Army is organized, so that the House may decide whether some measure of reduction is not urgently demanded.

What is the proportion of the officers of the Army as compared with the number of the men? There is one commissioned officer to every ten men, and one non-commissioned officer to every six men. You have either a general, a colonel, a captain, a major, or some other commissioned officer over every ten men belonging to the Army of the United States. Who ever heard of such a thing before? You may take the French army, the English army, the Prussian army—you may take all the armies of the world—and I tell you that in none of them will you find any fewer than twenty men to a commissioned officer. That is the least number in any army in the world except our own.



W. B. Long

JEFFERSON F. LONG.

EFFERSON F. LONG was born in Crawford County, Georgia, March 3, 1836. He educated himself, and went into business as a merchant tailor in Macon, Georgia. He was elected a Representative from Georgia, as a Republican, to the Forty-first Congress by a majority of nine hundred over Lawton, Democrat. He was admitted to his seat January 16, 1871. His only public participation in the proceedings of Congress was the delivery of the following speech, February 1, 1871, on the bill prescribing an oath of office.

“Mr. Speaker, the object of the bill before the House is to modify the test-oath. As a citizen of the South, living in Georgia, born and raised in that State, having been there during the war and up to the present time, I know the condition of affairs in that State. Now, sir, we propose here to-day to modify the test-oath, and to give to those men in the rebel States who are disloyal to-day to the Government this favor. We propose, sir, to remove political disabilities from the very men who were the leaders of the Ku-Klux, and who have committed midnight outrages in that State.

“What do those men say? Before their disabilities are removed they say, ‘We will remain quiet until all of our disabilities are removed, and then we shall again take the lead.’ Why, Mr. Speaker, in my State since emancipation there have been over five hundred loyal men shot down by the disloyal men there, and not one of those who took part in committing those outrages has ever been brought to justice. Do we, then, really propose here to-day, when the country is not ready for it, when those disloyal people still hate this Government, when loyal men dare not carry the ‘stars and stripes’ through our streets—for if they do they will be turned out of employment—to relieve from political disability

the very men who have committed these Ku-Klux outrages? I think that I am doing my duty to my constituents and my duty to my country when I vote against any such proposition.

“Yes, sir; I do mean that murders and outrages are being committed there. I received no longer ago than this morning a letter from a man in my State, a loyal man who was appointed postmaster by the President, stating that he was beaten in the streets a few days ago. I have also received information from the lower part of Georgia that disloyal men went in the midnight disguised, and took a loyal man out and shot him; and not one of them has been brought to justice. Loyal men are constantly being cruelly beaten. When we take the men who commit these outrages before judges and juries we find that they are in the hands of the very Ku-Klux themselves, who protect them.

“Mr. Speaker, I propose, as a man raised as a slave, my mother a slave before me, and my ancestry slaves as far back as I can trace them, yet holding no animosity to the law-abiding people of my State, and those who are willing to stand by the Government, while I am willing to remove the disabilities of all such who will support the Government, still I propose for one, knowing the condition of things there in Georgia, not to vote for any modification of the test-oath in favor of disloyal men.

“Gentlemen on the other side of the House have complimented men on this side. I hope the blood of the Ku-Klux has not got upon this side; I hope not. If this House removes the disabilities of disloyal men by modifying the test-oath, I venture to prophesy you will again have trouble from the very same men who gave you trouble before.”

WILLIAM LOUGHRIDGE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Loughridge served on the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on the Judiciary. He was recognized as one of the most advanced of the "radical" school of statesmen in Congress—favoring a change in the Constitution whereby women would be admitted to the right of suffrage. He made a number of able speeches, one of his first efforts being in advocacy of education in the District of Columbia. He eloquently maintained that the common school system is "the great safeguard of our free institutions, and the sheet-anchor of the liberties of the people." He expressed his belief that for our success against the late rebellion and "our safe deliverance from the perils that surrounded us, we are indebted under God to the common schools of the land more than to any other agency." He instituted an interesting comparison between "South Carolina as a representative of the Southern anti-free-school section, and Iowa as a fair representative of the free-school section:"

South Carolina has had the advantage of Iowa both in age and in population. In 1860 she exceeded Iowa in population more than thirty thousand. From 1810 to 1840, a period of thirty years, the whole appropriation of South Carolina for common schools was \$40,000 per annum; and from 1840 to 1860, the entire yearly expenditures for common schools amounted to from forty to eighty thousand dollars, the latter being the maximum. In 1858 there were in South Carolina 114,282 children of school age; of these only 19,132 attended any school.

I turn now to Iowa, a State the territory of which had in 1836 but 10,000 inhabitants, and which was admitted into the Union in December, 1846, just twenty-five years since. That State has a permanent school fund, at interest, amounting to \$2,500,000, from which accrues annually \$240,000, to be appropriated to the support of common schools, being thus a permanent income of three times the highest amount that South Carolina ever raised for schools in one year. The extent to which the people of that State carry taxation for common schools may be inferred from the fact that the amount of tax levied and collected for school purposes in each year exceeds the total of that collected for all other purposes. One county in the district I represent, which had in 1847 but 500 inhabitants, and which had but 8,000 inhabitants in 1860, levied and collected by direct taxation for school purposes in 1860 more than two thirds as much as the entire amount collected in South Carolina for that year, and more than the annual average amount collected in the entire State of South Carolina from 1810 to 1860. . . . The one State took the lead in the rebellion, and her people were mad with treason; the other brought its whole power and strength to the defense of the Government.

JOHN LYNCH.


(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Lynch was a member of the Committees on Banking and Currency and the Pacific Railroad, and Chairman of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Reduction of American Tonnage, and the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department.

As a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency the labors of Mr. Lynch were efficient and important in their bearing upon legislation. Early in the Forty-first Congress he introduced bills to provide for the gradual resumption of specie payments, to provide against undue expansions and contractions of the currency, and to amend the National Currency Act. He addressed the House on several occasions upon financial subjects.

His most noteworthy labors, however, were those in relation to the decline of the commercial and navigation interests of the United States. On the 22d of March, 1869, he introduced a resolution for a select committee of nine to inquire into and report the cause of the reduction of American Tonnage and the depreciation of the navigation interests of the country. This resolution having passed, Mr. Lynch was appointed chairman of the committee therein provided for. He subsequently introduced a resolution authorizing the Committee to sit during the recess at such times and places as they might deem advisable for the purpose of examining witnesses and taking testimony. The Committee gave much time and labor to this investigation, and on the 17th of February, 1870, Mr. Lynch submitted an able and exhaustive report, which, as published by order of Congress, forms a volume of much interest and of great value. On the same day he submitted a bill to revive the navigation and commercial interests of the United States. The bill was discussed at considerable length, amended, and finally, on the 31st of May, 1870, recommitted to the Committee with which it originated. On the second day of the last session of this Congress Mr. Lynch introduced another bill on the same subject, which was referred to his Committee, but the subject was not reached for further action during the session.

JOHN MANNING, JUN.

OHN MANNING, JUN., was born at Edenton, North Carolina, July 3, 1830. He received his early education at the academy in Norfolk, Virginia, and graduated at the University of North Carolina in June, 1850. He removed to Pittsborough, North Carolina, in November, 1851, and began the study of law. He was licensed to practice law in 1853, and has followed that profession since. He was a member of the North Carolina Convention of 1861. In November, 1870, he was elected a Representative from North Carolina to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat in place of John T. Deweese, resigned. Taking his seat in the House December 7, 1870, Mr. Manning was appointed on the Committee on Mines and Mining. His first speech was delivered on the bill for "full and general grace, amnesty, and oblivion of all wrongful acts, doings, or omissions of all persons engaged in the war of the late Rebellion." The following is an extract :

It is now nearly six years since a Confederate soldier fired a gun in defense of the "lost cause" and against the Federal Union. Amnesty by this bill is proclaimed to the great mass of the southern people, and yet, to serve some purpose or other, the leading men throughout the South are not permitted to enter these halls. If this proscription is intended as a punishment to them it does not amount to much, for the people among whom they live, as they are singled out from among them for punishment on account of their prominence in the late Rebellion—a prominence to which they had been elevated by their votes, wear them in their hearts—and enshrine them higher and higher in their affections. By this course you but increase their influence and heighten their importance. In a party point of view the majority in this House gain nothing, for while we may thus be prevented from sending our ablest and our best men to help you in raising this stupendous edifice of constitutional liberty, resting it firmly upon the broad foundation of equal rights and just laws, the South can and will send men who upon party questions will be just as sure to give party votes, and will know just as well how to pronounce the party shibboleth.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Marshall served on the Committee of Ways and Means. He was distinguished as one of the ablest champions of Revenue Reform. On the 31st of March, 1870, he introduced into the House resolutions on the Tariff which embodied very distinctly the views of those who opposed the principle of protection in tariff legislation. The vote thereon attracted very general attention throughout the country as developing a strength among the tariff or revenue reformers which had not been suspected. On the 29th of March Mr. Marshall had prepared the way for the introduction of these resolutions by a most able and elaborate argument, in which the whole subject of protection and free trade was fully considered and thoroughly discussed. He argued that Congress should confine its action to the preparation of a tariff for revenue exclusively, and that "the duty on no article should be greater than that which will give the maximum of revenue on said article." Near the conclusion of this speech Mr. Marshall said :

I have purposely avoided all party allusions for the reason that I wish to see this question rise above party. The cause for which I plead here to-day is the cause of civilization, of humanity, and of progress. In the name of justice I demand the emancipation of labor from unnecessary and unjust taxation; that monopoly shall cease; that capital shall loosen its grasp upon the throats of the people; that Government shall no longer be used as a mere instrument to rob and impoverish the humble and the lowly; that the barbarous system of legislation for the benefit of classes and sections shall be abandoned. I demand equal and just laws; that the necessary revenues may be raised without oppression to any class or section, and with the least possible impediment to the progress of national industry and prosperity.

At a later date, June 6, 1870, Mr. Marshall presented to the House further views on the same general subject in a speech which has been published under the title of "The Iron and Steel Swindle," in which he protested against the tariff legislation attempted to be engrafted upon the pending bill "to reduce internal taxes," and expressed the "indignation which," said he, "I think will be echoed by the great body of the people at this attempt now, when the revenues are more than one hundred million dollars in excess of the wants of the Government, to add in the most grievous and

inexcusable manner to the burdens of the producing classes of the country." He graphically depicts the evils resulting from a particular item of protection :

The retention of the present duty on steel rails, amounting, with freights, to fifty-five per cent. *ad valorem*, is a most consummate, inexcusable folly. The increase now proposed is a crime which language fails me properly to characterize. It means further oppression of the people; it means an increased number of railroad accidents; it means more horrors, the news of which, borne to us on the lightning's wing, so often makes the blood curdle; it means more murdering, mangling, and maiming; it means less wheat exported, fewer acres cultivated, and a perpetual tax on harvests. But no matter; amid all this calamity the ring will thrive, and the great principle of "protection" has triumphed.

Mr. Marshall has always been known as an enemy to "Protection," regarding it as a system for robbing the people of the West, and in support of his views has made numerous speeches upon the stump as well as in Congress. His ability and reputation as an advocate of this cause called forth an invitation from the American Free-Trade League to address the merchants' free-trade meeting to be held in the Stock Exchange, New York. In his letter expressing regret at his inability to comply with this invitation Mr. Marshall said :

Nature and circumstances have done every thing for this favored land, but the hand of legislation has defeated the gracious designs of Providence. With our wonderful natural advantages we ought to be the freest, happiest, most prosperous and self-reliant people on earth. What spectacle do we, in fact, present to the gaze of the civilized world? For folly and the grossest blundering our revenue and financial legislation has no parallel in the annals of the world. With thousands of miles of sea-board and unsurpassed harbors, our commerce is perishing from the seas, and our ship-building interests lie in hopeless decay. With mountains groaning with their gold and silver treasures, we never see a dollar of either among our people.

Such is the influence of malign legislation that these precious metals, as soon as they come forth from their hiding-places, take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth. With a broad expanse of the most fertile lands on earth, the agricultural interests, borne down with their heavy burdens, are threatened with bankruptcy and ruin. With iron, coal, and all the valuable minerals spread all over our land, we proclaim our inability to use these precious gifts beneath our very feet, and, with superlative folly, convert them into a curse by using their presence as an argument for increasing enormously our taxation. . . .

STEPHEN L. MAYHAM.



STEPHEN L. MAYHAM was born at Blenheim, Schoharie County, New York, October 8, 1825; received an academic education; studied law, and came to the bar in 1848. In 1857 he was elected Supervisor of Blenheim, and was re-elected three times. In 1859 he was elected District Attorney for Schoharie County for three years, and was a member of the State Assembly in 1863. He was elected a Representative from New York to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, and was appointed to the Committees on Private Land Claims and Expenditures in the Post-Office Department. His first formal speech in Congress was delivered January 14, 1870, on the bill to admit Virginia to representation. The following is one of the opening paragraphs:

This whole subject of reconstruction of a State of the Federal Union is to me an incomprehensible enigma. I have never been able to comprehend how the creature could reconstruct or recreate the creator; how the Federal Union, which is but the creation of the States, and the emanation and offshoot of powers belonging to and conferred by the State, could reconstruct or recreate the States from which it derived all its powers, and even its very existence, and particularly so with regard to Virginia, which was one of the original States by which the Federal Union was formed.

Mr. Mayham closed his speech with the following summing up:

I cannot vote for this bill because it makes unjust and unfair discriminations against the people of that State not required of other States; because it forever prohibits the people of that State from changing its public school system, while the experience of States show that the constant changes in the wants of society require constant changes in their school systems, and because the people of that State can judge better of their wants in that regard than can Congress. I cannot vote for it because it imposes, in my judgment, unconstitutional test-oaths upon its citizens elected to office.

HORACE MAYNARD.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Maynard served on the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on the Reorganization of the Civil Service. He continued to take a prominent and efficient part in the business and debates of the House. During the discussion of the bill for the reconstruction of Mississippi, Mr. Maynard made a speech, of which the following are extracts:

What has been the experience of persons resident in the South during and since the war? How many know, to their sorrow, that it is oftentimes much easier, much better, much safer, much more advantageous to have been a rebel than to have been loyal to the Government? How often is the traitor honored, adorned, it may be, with official distinction, while the truly loyal are despised? Mr. Speaker, such a result ought not to be, and if we allow this to become general we shall commit something worse than a mistake; we shall be guilty of a great political crime. . . .

We have been told correctly that all governments derive their just authority from the consent of the governed. That is an aphorism of the Declaration of Independence, and states a political principle. The consent of the governed was given in our case when the Government was first formed, and it is a total misapplication of the principle to hold that the consent thus given may be revoked at pleasure by such part of the governed as may become dissatisfied. That is anarchy. So far as governments are in existence to-day in the several States of the Union under the Constitution the principle is limited to this extent: the governed must consent to a republican form of government, and unless they do it is the duty of the United States to give it to them, to see that they live under it, and to use such means as are necessary to that result. That is to say, each State must have a government carried on by representatives elected by those, more or less, who represent the great body of the community at the ballot-box. That is a republican government, and under such governments must the States in this Union live. I hold, Mr. Speaker, that in re-establishing governments in the Southern States the only safe, the only practical and reliable, method is to build upon what Mr. Lincoln called the sound material—to build them by the co-operation of our friends, our well-known Union friends. To expect men who plotted the destruction of the Government for a generation, men who occupied seats in this House year after year while conspiring the overthrow of our free institutions, to suppose that they are going to re-establish loyal governments in those States is to suppose what will never happen. We owe it to ourselves, and not merely as a matter of policy, but to our friends in the South as a matter of justice and right, to see that they are protected by the governments under which they are required to live. To do that we must put the governments into their hands. We must give them the creation and control of them. To compel those people to live under governments formed and administered by men who despise them and hate them because of their devotion to the Government is to treat them with an injustice which this Government cannot afford even if inclined.

DENNIS McCARTHY.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. McCarthy was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means. On the 8th of February, 1870, arising for a "personal explanation," Mr. McCarthy had the Clerk read from the desk a paragraph from an editorial in the New York *Evening Post*, representing that he was elected to Congress through the influence of a wealthy and powerful corporation, in which he was a chief share-holder, whose interests he represented both in the House and in the Committee of Ways and Means, and that his single vote had saved salt in the Committee. Mr. McCarthy pronounced the whole statement untrue, and remarked :

In the first place, I am not a large share-holder of that corporation; and in the next place, I am not a manufacturer of salt. I should not object if I were a large share-holder, because there have been times in the history of that corporation when it made a large amount of money. How did it make it? It made it in 1862, 1863, and 1864, when the rebel privateer Alabama swept the ocean of our ships, and when the salt-works upon the Kanawha were destroyed by the rebels, and when salt in consequence rose from two to five dollars a barrel. Of course, this was a cause outside, and not connected with the legitimate manufacture of salt. . . . Since 1865, during the last four years, that company has not paid, nor has it earned, a dividend of even six per cent. on the capital invested in the manufacture of salt. So far for that.

I defend the company because it is located in my district, and because it is one of the important industries of the country. On those grounds it so far has my support, and no further. It is not true that the company aided my election. They had no voice in my election. They had no counsel in my election. They had no action in my election. The majority of that company, the president, the secretary, the treasurer, and the controlling interest, are strong and leading Democrats. The article charges that I was put upon the Committee through the influence of that Company. It is not true. Not a man interested in the Company in one way or another has ever appeared in this Capitol or around it on that account. . . .

Then this article says that my vote "saved salt" in the Committee. I know not where the authors of this article got their information; but we all know that that Committee is composed of nine members, and that it takes five to make a majority, and each one of those five members is responsible upon a test vote as much as any single one of them. I cannot say whether my vote or some others' saved salt. I can only say what the facts prove, that a majority of the Committee "kept salt out of the bill."

I have sustained the tariff in that Committee from the beginning to the end because it has been the best tariff for revenue the country has ever had, and because it has been the most judicious in its protection to the industry of the country.

JAMES R. McCORMICK.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)


In the Forty-first Congress Mr. McCormick was a member of the Committee on Public Lands. On the 19th of February, 1870, he addressed the House in defense of the Democratic party, in reply to remarks made by Mr. Sargent. The following is an extract from this speech:

Secession was a southern measure, adopted by the southern people without regard to party, and was resisted by the northern people in the same way. Had northern Democrats taken no action for the suppression of the Rebellion, then, indeed, would it have proved a success, for the reason that, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, the Government was in the hands of the Democratic party, the Army and Navy were commanded by a Democratic President, and the popular vote had opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln by a majority of 946,970 votes. And now, after the Rebellion has been suppressed, as much by Democratic valor as by Republican prowess, we find the gentleman from California denouncing that party but for whose assistance neither he nor his party could wield the scepter of power, which they exercise with so little regard to the rights of those who oppose them, or the requirements of the Constitution, which is the paramount law of the land.

In prosecuting this investigation I propose to institute a comparison of the efforts made for the suppression of the Rebellion as between Republican and Democratic States; and first, let us compare Missouri with Massachusetts, the former in 1860 about as intensely Democratic as the latter was Republican. Missouri in 1860 cast 147,518 votes for President, of which Mr. Lincoln received 17,028; Massachusetts at the same time cast for President 169,533 votes, of which Mr. Lincoln received 106,533. Going upon the assumption of the gentleman from California, that Democrats favored the Rebellion, we would expect Massachusetts to furnish six times as many volunteers as did Missouri, from the fact that Massachusetts cast six times as many Republican votes as did Missouri; but was this the case? Let the record answer.

According to the Adjutant-General's Report, under the three first calls for volunteers the quota of Massachusetts was 55,508 men. That State furnished 50,256 men, or 5,252 less than its quota; while for the same calls the quota of Missouri was 51,936 men, and that State furnished 64,153 men, or 12,217 more than its quota. Notwithstanding the people of Missouri, at an election in February, 1861, declared against secession by a majority of 80,000; notwithstanding their alacrity in volunteering for the suppression of the Rebellion, furnishing more than five times as many men for the Army as there were Republican votes in the State in 1860, yet her people are denounced as having planned treason and inaugurated rebellion, and that, too, by men who never heard a rebel gun fire. It is true, many persons in Missouri embarked in rebellion without regard to party; but the great body of her people were true and faithful to the Constitution and the Union. . . . The States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, which the Republican party in 1860 carried by small majorities, far outstripped the New England States in furnishing men for the suppression of the Rebellion, although the New England States were intensely Republican.

GEORGE W. McCRARY.

EORGE W. McCRARY was born near Evansville, Indiana, August 29, 1835. When he was but a few months old his parents removed to Illinois, where they remained one year, and then went to that portion of Wisconsin Territory which now constitutes the State of Iowa, settling in Van Buren County. Here the subject of this sketch spent his earlier years upon a farm. Being thus upon the extreme borders of civilization, where schools were few and poor, and his parents being unable to educate him abroad, he obtained his education under many difficulties, generally working on the farm in summer and going to school in the winter. At about eighteen years of age, having acquired sufficient education for the purpose, he engaged in school-teaching, and for several years employed himself alternately in teaching and studying at an academical institution.

In 1855 Mr. McCrary went to Keokuk and entered the office of Rankin & Miller as a student-at-law. In due course he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession in that city. Of industrious habits, resolute and ambitious in spirit, he was successful from the start, and soon built up a good practice. He was noted for his assiduous attention to business, and the thorough preparation of his cases. Taking a lively interest in politics, his character, the universal esteem with which he was regarded, his talent and his sagacity, at once marked him out to his political associates as a man both available as a candidate, and valuable in the conduct of public affairs; consequently, in 1857, when only twenty-two years of age, he was elected by the Republican party a member of the Iowa House of Representatives from Lee County. He was the youngest member of that body, and his extremely




Geo. W. McCreary

youthful appearance excited much comment among strangers. He proved, however, an active and efficient member. In 1861 he was chosen to represent his county in the State Senate. Lee County was largely Democratic, but the Rebellion having just broken out, Mr. McCrary made a successful appeal to the people to forget all else and unite in the support of the Government and the Union. His speeches in that campaign, and at various other times during the war, in favor of fidelity to the country, a patriotic support of the war measures of the Government, and in denunciation of treason and rebellion, are spoken of as exceedingly forcible and eloquent. During the first two years of his senatorial term he was Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, at that time the most important committee in that body, and he labored unceasingly and effectually in behalf of the Iowa contingent to the Union Army. During the last two years of his term he was Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, and discharged the duties of the position with marked ability.

In 1862 the Hon. Samuel F. Miller, who had been one of his legal preceptors, having been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, selected Mr. McCrary as his successor in the firm of Rankin & Miller. Ever since his connection with that firm his legal practice has perhaps not been inferior in extent or importance to that of any member of the bar in Iowa, and his success has amply justified the expectations of his friends and the judgment of his preceptor.

In 1868 the Hon. James F. Wilson, who had for many years represented that district in Congress, declined a re-nomination. From the moment of this announcement the general expectation and desire indicated that Mr. McCrary would succeed him. This was indeed a compliment to the young, but already experienced, politician of Keokuk, for the constituents of Mr. Wilson were much attached to him, and had a high opinion of his talents and public influence, and were consequently more than ordinarily considerate in the choice of his successor. He canvassed his district with great ability and thoroughness, and was elected by a large majority.

JAMES C. M'GREW.


AMES C. M'GREW was born in what is now Preston County, West Virginia, then a part of Monongalia County, Virginia, September 14, 1813. He received a practical English education, and when not in school worked on his father's farm. At the age of twenty he engaged in mercantile pursuits, which he followed steadily and with success for thirty years, when he engaged in banking, which is his present business. He was a delegate to the Virginia State Convention in 1861, and a member of the Legislature of West Virginia in 1863, 1864, and 1865. He was elected a Representative from West Virginia to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and was appointed a member of the Committee on Railways and Canals, and the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs.

Mr. M'Grew addressed the House February 17, 1871, in explanation of a statement made by Mr. Hoar, in a speech advocating his bill to establish a system of national education that "West Virginia contemplates the destruction of her already successful free-school system." After having spoken of the system of free schools established in his State Mr. M'Grew said :

Mr. Speaker, this is a work and these are results of which the citizens of West Virginia may justly be proud, and I trust the day is far distant when they will become so blind to their own best interests as to do any thing to mar this noble work. It is true, however, Mr. Speaker, that in West Virginia the friends of universal education have some cause of uneasiness, if not of alarm.

At the recent State election the Democracy, for the first time in the history of the State, succeeded in getting the control of the Legislature, and it is a fact to be deplored that the Democracy in West Virginia has manifested unmistakable signs of hostility to the free-school system as it exists there ever since its introduction, and it is currently reported that the Democratic Legislature is about to call a convention to revise the State Constitution, and it is greatly feared by the friends of education that if successful in their project for a convention they will attempt to destroy the existing system of universal free education.

GEORGE C. McKEE.

HE subject of this sketch is of Scotch-Irish descent. His father, James McKee, was a native of Chester District, South Carolina. Being of very decided anti-slavery views, and not wishing that his growing family of children should be reared under the influences of slavery then surrounding them, he removed from the South to Illinois, where, at Joliet, on the 2d of October, 1836, GEORGE C. McKEE was born. He was educated in the academic department at Knox College, and received a partial collegiate education at Lombard University.

Before reaching his majority he was admitted to the bar, and took part as a Republican in the famous "Lincoln and Douglas canvass" of 1858 in Illinois. When twenty-one years of age he was elected City Attorney of Centralia, Illinois. He practiced law until the outbreak of the rebellion, when, at the first call for troops, he enlisted as a private in the first company (11th Illinois Infantry) that left Southern Illinois. At the conclusion of the three months' term of service, during which time he had served as first sergeant in South-east Missouri, the company re-enlisted and re-organized for the three years' service, and he was unanimously elected Captain. He was wounded at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg. During the siege of Vicksburg he commanded a corps of three hundred picked men. He repulsed the rebel assault at Yazoo City, March 5, 1864, although attacked by Generals Ross and Richardson with a force treble his own. After this he was ordered, as Brigadier-General, to equip four regiments of enrolled militia.

At the close of the war, having been continuously in Mississippi since 1862, he settled in that State at Vicksburg and resumed the practice of his profession, and also engaged in planting in Warren and Madison Counties.

He at once took a stand as an earnest-working Republican of liberal views. The Republican party of Mississippi was started and organized in his law-office at Vicksburg. He was appointed Register in Bankruptcy in 1867, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Mississippi from Warren County, and as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee framed the present judicial system of Mississippi. He was elected to the Fortieth Congress by 5,000 majority, but the State was not admitted to representation by that Congress. He was elected to the Forty-first Congress by 15,000 majority, and on being admitted to his seat was appointed on the Committee on Reconstruction. In a speech delivered, December 20, 1870, on the Amnesty Bill, Mr. McKee declared himself in favor of the most liberal policy :

Mr. Speaker, believing as I do in universal amnesty, I advocate the passage of this bill. It is not all I desire. If I had my own way untrammelled I would make it far broader than it is. But I believe this is the best we can get at this session, and, as a practical man, I will take what I can get. We rarely obtain all we desire at one effort; and whatever may be done hereafter, believing in amnesty full and free, I will not, in behalf of my constituents who are to be benefited, reject the advantages of this bill because it does not meet all the requirements of our case. I do not wish to grasp for all and lose every thing. This is a great step in the right direction, and so far as it goes I accept it; while I shall continue to vote as I have voted all along, for individual amnesty, for special amnesty, for partial amnesty, and, whenever I can do so practically, I shall vote for universal amnesty.

I wish to say in response to what has been said by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Prosser] that it is undoubtedly true that in our section of the country, in Mississippi and in Tennessee, there are too many Ku-Klux outrages; but I ask practical men if that is any good reason why disqualification should prevail? Is it any reason, because men have been murdered, that punishment of the murderer should be disqualification from holding office? The punishment is too ludicrous; it is too absurd to say if a man commits an outrage like that the gentleman has spoken of he shall not hold office under the United States.

Nor do I believe like the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Duke,] that amnesty should be granted to the people of the South because they fought so bravely against the Government, even if they did believe they were right in so doing. Such logic would acquit all great criminals, and punish the lesser ones only. It would be but holding out a premium for even bolder struggles against the Government in the future. It is enough, in all conscience, to give amnesty for disloyalty, without asking that that amnesty shall be given as a meritorious reward for the very boldness and persistence of such disloyalty. . . .

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LEWIS M'KENZIE.



LEWIS M'KENZIE was born at Alexandria, Va., October 12, 1810, and received a common school education. He left school when thirteen years of age, and was engaged as clerk in one of the largest commission and shipping houses in Alexandria. He afterward engaged in business on his own account as a member of the firm of Lambert & M'Kenzie, who were largely engaged in the West Indies and coastwise trade. He is now President of the First National Bank of Alexandria, and of the Washington and Ohio Railroad Company. He served for twenty years as a member of the Common Council of Alexandria; was elected to the Legislature of Virginia from the County of Alexandria for three terms; and was Mayor of Alexandria the first year of the Rebellion, elected by the Union people. He was elected to the Forty-first Congress as a Union Conservative, receiving 15,878 votes against 11,073 for Whittlesey, Republican.

During his early life Mr. M'Kenzie was an Old Line Whig, and a great admirer of Henry Clay. He has always been in favor of protecting American industry in preference to encouraging foreign importations; he was always an antislavery man, and rejoiced when the institution had come to an end.

Mr. M'Kenzie's right to a seat having been contested on the ground that he could not take the iron-clad oath, Mr. Farnsworth said of him:

I wish to state that so far as Mr. M'Kenzie is concerned he stands ready to take the oath. I will state further that I knew Mr. M'Kenzie very well during the war, and as early as the fall of 1861, and during the following winter. I spent a portion of that winter in Alexandria with the regiment which I had raised, and which I was then commanding. Mr. M'Kenzie was then acting Mayor of Alexandria, and in my opinion as loyal a man as ever lived. He remained

there true to the flag when the rebels fled. He was a true man, a great deal truer man than some military officers.

Mr. Maynard bore testimony to the same effect, as follows :

This question having been sprung upon the House in this manner, it is but just to the applicant, Mr. M'Kenzie, and but right in me, to state that I knew him intimately during pretty much all the time the late war was going on. Under an election which was held, or attempted to be held, in that part of Virginia under the auspices of what was called the " Wheeling Government," and which was afterward recognized by Congress, and representation allowed to Virginia in part under that election, Mr. M'Kenzie claimed to have been elected to this House. He came here and asked to be allowed to take his seat, but it was denied to him by the House.


I have always recognized Mr. M'Kenzie as a loyal man, as a Union man, co-operating with the forces of the government in the suppression of the rebellion, and as thoroughly identified with the government in feeling. As to the merits of the controversy concerning the seat I know nothing, and have heard nothing ; but in regard to the question of the personal loyalty of Mr. M'Kenzie I should be very much surprised to learn any thing that was inconsistent with thorough loyalty on his part.

Mr. M'Kenzie was sworn in January 24, 1870, and was appointed to the Committee on the District of Columbia. During the discussion of the Senate bill to relieve certain persons from legal and personal disabilities, February 21, 1870, Mr. M'Kenzie said :

I am glad to see the House coming to a true consideration of this question. Why not give these people relief? They have suffered greatly in this contest. I belong to the Republican party of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and I rejoice that the colored people there are free. I have been an antislavery man for years past ; was one long before many who occupy seats in this House ever took such a position. I am anxious that the people of the South should be relieved from their political disabilities. Why not, like a magnanimous government, relieve them? It is true, what has been done in the South has not been done in the spirit in which I had hoped it would be done ; still I hope this bill will be passed, and that the amendment that has been adopted by the House will be promptly acted on by the Senate.

There was another person here for years past seeking to have his disabilities removed. On Saturday last he died, and it is of no consequence now to have his name included in this bill ; he has gone to a higher tribunal. I hope this House will, by a unanimous vote, if possible, pass this bill. These people have waited long and anxiously. Many of them are my friends, and I am willing to knock off their shackles. The President has said, " Let us have peace ;" why should not the representatives of the people say so also ?

THOMPSON W. M'NEELY.

HOMPSON W. M'NEELY was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, October 5, 1835. He graduated at the Lombard University, Galesburgh, in 1856; studied law and came to the bar in 1857; and graduated at the Law University of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1859. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Illinois in 1862, and was elected a Representative from Illinois to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat. Mr. M'Neely was appointed to the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. His first speech in the House, January 29, 1870, was a very able and elaborate argument in support of the following resolution, which he had introduced a few days before :

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency be and they are hereby instructed to report at an early day a bill providing for withdrawing from circulation the national bank currency, and for issuing instead of such currency Treasury notes usually known as greenbacks.

The following extract from the speech elucidates the policy of expansion :

Mr. Speaker, to still further facilitate and hasten the payment of the public debt, and to answer the pressing demands of the people, I would expand the circulation by the issue of \$200,000,000 in United States legal-tender notes in addition to those now outstanding, and in addition to those I would substitute in the place of the national bank notes. In this I speak for myself; and having advocated this expansion in the canvass which I made previous to my election, I speak for the people whom I represent. By the term expansion I do not mean inflation, but simply such increase of circulation as the business wants of the people justify. This expansion, however, should be sufficiently gradual as would prevent any serious financial shock. Feeling the pulse of the business public, I would administer the relief as the patient could bear it. A glance at the condition of our currency and the business interest which employs it convinces me that we need more money.

ULYSSES MERCUR.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Mercur served on the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Mileage. Pending the discussion of the Amnesty Bill, he expressed his views in the following speech :

“The bill is a very comprehensive one. Amnesty, in the ordinary and proper acceptation of that term, constitutes but a small portion of its provisions. It professes to go further, and take from loyal citizens of the several States rights which they now have under the Constitution and laws ; rights that they are now permitted to enforce in the courts of justice, and which some of them have proceeded to enforce and are now prosecuting in various courts of the nation. To my mind the provisions of the bill in this regard are exceedingly questionable. I will go further, and say I think they are wrong. I think it is wrong for Congress to pass a law by which loyal men shall be prohibited from enforcing their rights in the courts.


“But apart from that, I am now opposed to a general and sweeping amnesty. I say I am opposed to it now. The time may come when, in my judgment, such a measure will be proper ; but I think that time has not yet arrived. I have failed to see anything in the disposition and conduct of the people of the South who went into the Rebellion which can give assurance to my mind that they are now prepared for such a measure of amnesty.

“I believe that when we adopted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution we meant something by it. We adopted it not as a measure of ordinary legislation ; we established it as a part of the organic law of the land ; and it seems to me we are in fearful haste to wipe out its provisions and destroy all the benefits which the nation expected to receive under its benign influence. Why, sir, the ink has scarcely dried on the statute-books where it is printed ; yet we are met here by members from all parts of the country asking us to legislate it out of existence, to wipe it away. There is, I rejoice to see, some diversity of sentiment among members representing the reconstructed States. We find there are still some of them who feel that repentance should precede pardon.



Genl Melnes Esq.

WILLIAM MILNES, JR.

 WILLIAM MILNES, Jr., was born in Lancashire, England, December 8, 1827. When he was in his second year his parents emigrated to this country, and took up their residence in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, where the father engaged in mining and manufacturing, in which he was very successful, leaving at his death, which occurred April 11, 1861, quite a large fortune.

Young Milnes received a good education at the Pottsville Academy, which was in charge of C. W. Pittman, Esq., an excellent teacher, and a gentleman of enlarged and liberal views, who afterward represented his district in Congress. Leaving the academy at the age of seventeen, Mr. Milnes decided to place himself beyond the reverses of fortune by learning a trade, although his father was wealthy, and needed his services in conducting his extensive business. He apprenticed himself to a firm largely engaged in the machine and blacksmithing business, with whom he spent four years, becoming master of every branch of his trade. In the business which he afterward pursued he found the knowledge gained during his apprenticeship of immense value. Soon after completing his trade he was employed by the extensive firm of Milnes, Haywood, & Co., as agent for shipping their coal. He continued as such for two years, when he gave up this agency to take charge of the Pine Forest Colliery, owned by Snyder & Milnes, then one of the most extensive mines in the country. Here he remained for two years longer, conducting the large business intrusted to him to the entire satisfaction of his employers. About this time his father dissolved partnership with Snyder and purchased the Hickory Colliery, a very extensive mine, and took into partnership with him his sons William and John, and the

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Rev. Jas. Neill, under the firm name of William Milnes, Jr., & Co., at Pottsville, and Benjamin Milnes & Co., at Philadelphia. The subject of this sketch continued for eleven years as the senior partner of the Hickory Colliery firm, during which time the company mined and shipped over twelve hundred thousand tons of coal.

On the death of his father he and his brother took entire charge of the business, and successfully conducted it up to the spring of 1864, when they sold out to the Mammoth Vein Consolidated Coal Company. Mr. Milnes was employed as the superintendent of this company, in which capacity he continued until December, 1865, when he removed to Virginia. He and his brother John, his father-in-law, Thomas Johns, and his cousin, John Fields, about this time purchased the property known as the Shenandoah Iron Works. This property is situated in the counties of Page and Rockingham, and comprises 35,000 acres of land, on which are two furnaces and one forge in successful operation. The entire property cost about \$500,000, and is the most valuable of the kind in the State, perhaps in the South. About 1,000 acres of this land is under cultivation, and is constantly being cleared up and improved. The most of it is beautifully and advantageously situated on the Shenandoah, by means of which river the bloom-iron is transported by flat-boats to Harper's Ferry, whence it is taken by rail to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other eastern markets. On their farm and in their furnaces and mining operations the company employ about three hundred men.

Mr. Milnes, during the greater part of his life having been heavily engaged in business pursuits, has had but little time to devote to politics. After earnest solicitation by his friends he consented to become a candidate for Congress only seven days before the election, and without making a speech or asking for a vote, he was elected by more than five thousand majority. Entering the Forty-first Congress as a Representative from Virginia, when the reconstruction of that State was consummated, January 27, 1870, he served on the Committee on Railways and Canals and the Committee on Accounts.



E. H. Moore

ELIAKIM H. MOORE.



ELIAKIM HASTINGS MOORE was born in Boylston, Worcester County, Massachusetts, June 19, 1812, and went with his father to Athens County, Ohio, in 1817. At that time educational advantages in the West were greatly limited. The subject of this sketch in his country home had access only to the poorest common schools, and to them only under the most trying circumstances—such as a walk of three miles through the snow to the rude log school-house. Yet he loved his books; and, thirsting for practical knowledge, made rapid advancement, and was soon counted among the most proficient in the elementary branches there taught.

Eminently positive in his character, he early formed decided opinions on the leading moral and political questions of the day. He joined the first temperance organization in 1828, and ever remained one of the most steadfast friends of the cause. Instinctively a hater of slavery in all its forms, he was confirmed in his opposition by witnessing many disgraceful and cruel scenes attendant upon the pursuit and recovery of fugitives by brutal masters and slave-hunters. He was in politics a Whig until the formation of the Republican party, with which he has ever since acted.

In the winter of 1834–35 he taught school, and at the same time studied surveying with Hon. S. B. Pruden, who in the spring of 1836 introduced him to the public by appointing him deputy county surveyor. In 1838 he was elected county surveyor, and was re-elected in 1841 and 1844. In 1846 his familiarity with the subdivisions of the lands recommended him as a suitable person for county auditor, and he was elected by a large majority as an independent candidate. So entirely to the satisfaction of the peo-

ple did he perform the duties of his office that he was re-elected, with but slight opposition and by very large majorities, in '48, '50, '52, '54, '56, and '58. His private business having meanwhile largely accumulated, he then declined further service.

During the war for the Union he supported it with unstinted contributions of time and money and personal influence, and served as a member of the military committee of Athens County.

When the system of internal revenue was adopted, he was appointed collector for the 15th District of Ohio; but being politically unacceptable to Andrew Johnson, he was removed in 1866.

He was for many years a director of the Athens Branch State Bank of Ohio, and, as its president, superintended its conversion into the First National Bank of Athens, to which he now sustains the same official relations. He served for a long time as a director of the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad, and was one of the projectors and incorporators of the Columbus and Hocking Valley Railroad. He is one of the directors of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio University.


In 1868 he was unexpectedly recalled to political life. The campaign of 1867 had been a gloomy one for the Republicans, who, though they secured their governor by a small majority, lost the legislature, which elected a Democrat, Hon. A. G. Thurman, to the United States Senate. Most of the close congressional districts had also gone democratic, among them the 15th by 427 majority. In 1868, to redeem the 15th District, the nomination for Congress was urged upon him and reluctantly accepted. He entered the campaign with characteristic vigor, and defeated his democratic competitor, M. D. Follet, Esq., by 956, running 136 ahead of the State ticket. During the Forty-first Congress he served on the Committee on Territories, and consistently voted for every measure of retrenchment and reform.

He declined a renomination in 1870, and again devoted himself to his private business, the growing proportions of which demanded his entire attention.



J. H. Moore

JESSE H. MOORE.

ESSE H. MOORE was born in St. Clair County, Illinois, April 22, 1817. His grandfather was at the battle of Yorktown and saw Cornwallis surrender to Washington. His father and all his brothers and brothers-in-law were in the War of 1812. The son of a farmer, he grew to manhood in his native county, and in 1837 entered M'Kendree College at Lebanon, Illinois, where he graduated in 1842. He was soon after elected Principal of the Georgetown Seminary, where he remained four years. He was subsequently Principal of the Paris Seminary, and still later President of Quincy College. Having entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he served as Pastor of several important Churches in the Illinois Annual Conference.

In the summer of 1862 he was earnestly solicited by many who were enlisting in the service of the country to declare his willingness to lead a regiment of volunteers into the field. In the face of many obstacles he consented, and was commissioned Colonel of the 115th regiment Illinois Infantry, which was organized at Camp Butler, Illinois, August 26, 1862, and was ordered to the field in October following. On reaching Covington, Kentucky, the regiment was attached to the Second Brigade, Second Division Army of Kentucky. Colonel Moore was in command of the post at Richmond, Kentucky, during the months of November and December. He marched thence to Nashville, to re-inforce the Army of the Cumberland. He was stationed from March 1 to June 1, 1863, at Franklin, Tennessee, and subsequently moved with the Army of the Cumberland on Shelbyville and Tullahoma. He was in command of the post at Tullahoma during a part of the months of July and August.

On the 19th and 20th of September he participated in the great battles of Chickamauga. His command was one of the famous ten regiments of the Reserve Corps, which, on the afternoon of the 20th, by a most bloody and obstinate resistance, won the distinguished honor of saving the Army of the Cumberland. One third of the officers and nearly half the men of the 115th Illinois were among the killed and wounded. This regiment bore a conspicuous part in nearly all those splendid maneuvers which resulted in the utter defeat of Bragg and Longstreet at Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, and Mission Ridge. After the battle of Chickamauga, in the reorganization of the army it was assigned to the Second Brigade, First Division, Fourth Army Corps, Department of the Cumberland, with which it served until the end of the war.

During a considerable portion of the winter of 1863-64 Colonel Moore commanded the Second Brigade, First Division, Fourth Army Corps; and in the month of January, 1864, under Major-General D. C. Stanley, marched with his brigade into East Tennessee, where he remained until the 3d of May following. On that day, in command of his regiment, he started on the memorable campaign which resulted in the fall of Atlanta. He led the charge on Tunnel Hill, Georgia, skirmished several days with the enemy at Rocky Face and at Buzzard's Roost in front of Dalton, and bore a conspicuous part in the great battle of Resacca.


After this battle he was ordered to report in person to General Thomas, and was assigned to the post at Resacca, which had become the base of supplies for the army then operating in Georgia under General Sherman. For more than two months he remained in that important position, in command of forces guarding communications, and had almost daily skirmishes with raiding parties who were constantly endeavoring to cut off the supplies of the Union army.

When in November, 1864, General Sherman entered upon his march toward the sea, "the invincible Fourth Corps," as it was called, commanded by that splendid soldier, General Stanley, to which the 115th Illinois belonged, together with the Twenty-third

Corps under General Schofield, were all the veteran forces left to oppose the rebel General Hood in his scheme of carrying the war into Tennessee and Kentucky. This force was thrown in his front and fortified itself at Pulaski, Tennessee, but being outnumbered and flanked, it was compelled to fall back toward Nashville. Being hard pressed, the Union army was compelled to turn and give battle at Franklin, Tennessee, on the 30th day of December, 1864, and in the most sanguinary struggle of the war the enemy was repulsed with frightful carnage. The army then fell back to the entrenchments around Nashville to meet re-inforcements, and were there besieged for fifteen days, during which preparations were made to give battle and to crush the army under Hood. On the 15th and 16th of December in front of Nashville was fought one of the most important battles of the war. Colonel Moore's regiment bore a conspicuous part in this engagement. Immediately after the battle, in command of his brigade he marched with the Fourth Army Corps in pursuit of Hood's shattered forces to within twenty-five miles of Florence, Alabama, and thence to Huntsville, where he remained in camp until the 14th of March, 1865. Thence he set out for Richmond, Virginia, but halted at Greenville, Tennessee, on hearing of the occupation of the rebel capital by the Army of the Potomac. He remained in camp a few weeks, when, with the Fourth Army Corps, he was ordered to Nashville, preparatory to moving into Texas. Meanwhile, however, the Confederacy having gone to pieces more suddenly than was expected, and the Government having a surplus of troops, those whose term of service would expire prior to September 20, 1865, were ordered to be mustered out. Colonel Moore embraced the opportunity to retire to civil life after three years of faithful and arduous military service under Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, Grant, and Sherman, who successively commanded the military division of the West.

After the close of the war Mr. Moore resumed his duties as minister of the Gospel, and was Presiding Elder of the Decatur District, Illinois Conference, when he was elected a Representative from the Seventh District of Illinois to the Forty-first Congress.

FRANK MOREY.

 FRANK MOREY was born in Boston, Massachusetts, July 11, 1840, and was educated in the public schools of that city. He was employed two years as clerk and book-keeper in a wholesale hide and leather house in Boston. He went West in 1857 and located in La Salle County, Illinois, and engaged in farming and teaching school, employing his leisure in the study of medicine, which he subsequently abandoned for the study of law. In 1860 he engaged in the grain and lumber business, and in the early portion of 1861 traveled through Kansas and Nebraska speculating in wild lands. He was preparing for an overland trip to Oregon and California when the Rebellion commenced, whereupon he returned to Illinois, and in August, 1861, entered the service in the 33d Illinois Infantry, with which regiment he served until September, 1863, participating in the campaign through Southeast Missouri and Arkansas under General Curtis. He was with his regiment in the Vicksburg campaign, during which he participated in the battles of Port Gibson, Jackson, Champion's Hill, Raymond, Big Black, and the siege of Vicksburg. At the battle of Big Black he commanded his company, acting as skirmishers, in a charge on a Confederate six-gun battery, which they took, driving the enemy from their guns at the point of the bayonet, for which he was highly complimented in field-orders. In September, 1863, he accepted a command of colored troops, with which he served on the Red River Expedition. The only fighting done by colored troops in that campaign was performed by four companies under his command at Yellow Bayou, Louisiana. He afterward served, until the surrender of Lee, as acting Assistant Adjutant-General of the District of Morganza. In 1865 he proceeded, under orders from General Canby, to Mon-



Frank Moorey

roe, Louisiana, and organized the Freedman's Bureau in Northeast Louisiana. He was honorably mustered out of the service December 31, 1865, and settled at Monroe, where he engaged in the cotton-planting and the insurance business.

Mr. Morey was Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue in 1867 and 1868, and in the latter year was elected to the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, in which he was a member of the Ways and Means, Railroad, and other important committees. He was appointed member of a Board of Commissioners for the revision of the Statutes at large, and of the civil code and code of practice of the State of Louisiana, on which he served two years.

He is editor and publisher of the *Louisiana Intelligencer* at Monroe, Louisiana, an outspoken and unswerving Republican journal. He is interested in railroad and other enterprises for the development of the State, and is Vice-President of the Arkansas and Delta Railroad.

In 1868 he was the Republican nominee for Congress in the Fifth Congressional District of Louisiana, and by reason of the widespread violence and intimidation which prevailed in that State in 1868 he was defeated. He contested his opponent's election, and in April, 1870, the matter was referred back to the people, by whom he was elected for the remainder of the Forty-first and for the Forty-second Congress after a unanimous nomination and a vigorous campaign, receiving a majority of about two thousand votes. In the Forty-first Congress he was a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. He spoke in favor of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and made vigorous efforts for securing an appropriation for the improvement of the Washita River. Upon a resolution reported by the Committee on Reconstruction he remarked upon the inconsistency of prescribing a simple oath to support the Constitution to those who were engaged in the Rebellion, and continuing to require the test oath of all others. He closed a subsequent speech in favor of Amnesty with the hope that his friends would have "the political sagacity to pass a full amnesty bill, and not deal in these patch-work bills."

GEORGE W. MORGAN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Morgan served on the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Reconstruction. On the 20th of December, 1869, he addressed the House on the reconstruction of Georgia, and took occasion to make the following interesting statement of his opinions respecting the late civil war:


There are those, and they are numbered by thousands, who at the time of the outbreak of the war which closed five years ago believed that it was the deliberate purpose of the leaders of the so-called Republican party to force this country into war for the express purpose of subverting its free institutions. I was one of those who were reluctant so to believe. I was willing to contribute to the best of my humble ability in suppressing the armed opposition to the Government. But, sir, with my hand upon my heart, in the presence of the great God who rules all nations and now watches over ours, I here declare that I am now convinced that the single object of these leaders of the Republican party was the subversion of our free institutions and the desire of war to that end. The charge that I make is a bold one—a charge that should not be lightly made—a charge which when made on this floor should be sustained by proof. What are the proofs?

It is true that a peace congress assembled, but it is also true that it dissolved in failure. The peace congress! Sir, if there was ever a conspiracy against peace, if conspirators ever assembled with the determination to sacrifice liberty upon the pretext of securing liberty, they were in that body. But, sir, what proof is there that the leaders of the Republican party desired the war for the purpose of overthrowing our free institutions? It is a fact which I have not heard commented upon, and yet it is a startling fact, that so anxious was the Administration of Mr. Lincoln that the rebellion should assume form and an organized army be placed in the field, that after open war had been made upon the part of the Southern people by firing upon Fort Sumter, Mr. Lincoln's administration furnished to the Rebellion the four great leaders who organized and commanded their armies—Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston, and that thunderbolt of Southern war, James Longstreet. Their resignations were accepted by Mr. Lincoln after the firing upon Fort Sumter. Upon this charge I challenge denial.

Sir, it was notorious throughout the land that Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and Albert Sidney Johnston were not only three of the most distinguished officers in the American army and holding the highest rank, but that they were three of the most scientific and able of our military men. It was at the option of President Lincoln to receive or not to receive their resignations. Fort Sumter had been fired upon, and it was evident that the rebellion must prove a speedy failure unless great chiefs were placed at its head. Who furnished those chiefs? The administration of Abraham Lincoln. On this point I again challenge contradiction. I pause for a reply. . . .

And here, sir, I declare that, which will be the judgment of history, had either Douglas or Breckenridge or Bell been elected there would have been no war.

JOSEPH L. MORPHIS.

 JOSEPH L. MORPHIS was born in McNairy County, Tennessee, April 17, 1831, and was brought up as a planter. He was a Whig member of the State Legislature of Tennessee in 1859. He entered the Confederate Army as captain in August, 1861, and served until the surrender. Having removed to Mississippi in 1863, he was elected to the State Constitutional Convention of Mississippi in 1865, and was a member of the State Legislature in 1866, 1867, and 1868. He was elected a Representative from Mississippi to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and was sworn in February 23, 1870, taking the modified oath as prescribed by the Act of July 11, 1868. He served on the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. Though attentive to the duties of his position, Mr. Morphis seldom took the floor. His only attempt at speech-making during the Forty-first Congress was pending the River and Harbor Appropriation Bill, when he said :

I move to amend by inserting after the clause just read, "for improvement of Tombigbee river, from Fulton to Aberdeen, \$10,000." Last spring, when the bill for the improvement of rivers came up for consideration, I asked the Committee on Commerce for an appropriation of \$10,000 for this purpose. They told me that I would first have to get a survey of the Tombigbee river made. I asked for a survey of that river. The other day I inquired of the Engineer Bureau if that survey had been made. I have not the answer here, but the reply was that they were surveying the river, but had not yet completed it. Unless this appropriation be made at this session, so that the work can go on this summer, it will be of no benefit to the people. An appropriation next winter will be too late. Though the Engineer Department has not sent in the survey which has been made, the people of my district have petitioned in large numbers in favor of this improvement, and their petition has been sent to the Committee on Commerce. This House has not appropriated one dollar for the State of Mississippi. The important rivers in our State have received no attention from this Committee. I hope the House will agree to vote this appropriation of \$10,000.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Morrell served as Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, and as a member of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Reduction of American Tonnage. He took an important part in the financial legislation of this Congress. Early in the second session he proposed a bill to fund the national debt at a lower rate of interest, to make the banking system free, and for other purposes. This bill authorized the Secretary of the Treasury "to borrow on the credit of the United States a sum not exceeding in the aggregate \$2,500,000,000, and to issue therefor coupon or registered bonds which shall be irredeemable." On the 10th of March, 1870, Mr. Morrell delivered a speech in the House of Representatives advocating this bill. He maintained that specie was not the only, nor indeed the best, basis for a national currency, and that "circulating notes in abundance" constituted "the life-blood of the nation." Should the proposed bill become a law "we should as a people be freed from the financial revulsions and panics which so often rob industry of its earnings, and give to the money-lender despotic power over the enterprising borrowers." He urged that our financial legislation should be "as large and bold as the patriotism of the American people. We shall not have learned the lesson taught by the experience of other nations, nor attained to the enjoyment of our exceptional advantages and capabilities, until we have a distinctly American system of industry, and a distinctively American system of finance growing out of, and mutually sustaining, each other."

Mr. Morrell, as Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, to whom were referred a number of petitions asking for an inquiry to be made into certain statements contained in the last report of Commissioner Wells, submitted an elaborate report consisting of sixty-five pages. The "propositions, contradictions, and errors" of Mr. Wells' report were set forth in strong terms by Mr. Morrell, who said that "the report seems to have been written in the interest of foreign producers and manufacturers, and its suggestions and recommendations, if followed by consequent legislation, would be hostile to the best interests of the people of the country, and tend

to make us dependents upon foreign nations, when we have the means and ability to be independent of the world."


On the 13th of July, 1870, Mr. Morrell delivered a speech on "Protection and Free Trade—The Position of Parties." He said that until that time he had refrained from participating in the discussion in behalf of the Doctrine of Protection to American Industry "from personal considerations." These were that so much had been "said by hired correspondents and others" concerning his "pecuniary interest in the result of the legislation referred to." At the close of the discussion, however, he deemed it proper that he should present his views, which he prefaced with a protest against the charge so frequently uttered against practical business men who occupy seats in Congress, that they are actuated by selfish motives in sustaining or opposing measures with the effects of which on certain branches of industry they are entirely familiar. He said:

Shall the legislation of the country be given over to mere theorists? Shall a citizen be adjudged unfit to become a member of this body because his training and experience fit him to vote understandingly on measures of practical import? Shall ignorance of the business wants of the country be held at a premium in this hall? I trust not, Mr. Speaker. I hold that the interests of the people are always safe when committed to the hands of practical business men here or elsewhere, and when such men are sent here as Representatives it is a slander and a meanness to impugn their motives.

Mr. Morrell then proceeded to discuss the Tariff question, giving evidence of logical skill and familiarity with the subject befitting one of the leading champions of Protection to American Industry.

On the 14th of December, 1870, Mr. Morrell addressed the House in support of a bill to provide for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence by holding an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil in the city of Philadelphia. With force and eloquence he maintained that Philadelphia was the proper place for holding such an exhibition. The bill having passed and become a law, Mr. Morrell was appointed by the President as one of the Commissioners of the proposed celebration and exhibition.

SAMUEL P. MORRILL.

AMUEL P. MORRILL was born at Chesterville, Maine, February 11, 1816. He received an academic education, and adopted the profession of a clergyman in the Baptist denomination. In 1857 he was elected Register of Deeds for Franklin County, and was re-elected to the same office in 1867. He was elected a Representative from Maine to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and was appointed a member of the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. Morrill several times addressed the House briefly and forcibly on pending subjects of legislation, sometimes presenting aptly the results of his own extensive experience and observation. During the discussion of the Civil Service Bill, he said :

I am perhaps the only member upon this floor who has been a clerk here. I have been a nominal clerk here in one of the Departments, and know the difficulty in the way of purifying the clerical service. All the clerks in all the Departments have got there under the influence of some member of Congress—some Senator or some Representative—or some essential or important personage in the Government, who has recommended certain individuals for their positions. They have gone into the clerical service perhaps under an examination, oftentimes without; and by the exercise of favoritism on the part of the examiners, sometimes those who have been essentially qualified to fill the clerical position to which they have been recommended have been discarded simply because they wished to put in others not so well qualified. Such is the case, although the law is as stringent as it can be made under the gentleman's bill.

The great difficulty in purifying the service, so far as the clerical force is concerned, is that where a man has been found to be incapacitated for the position to which he has been assigned, and he is notified his services are no longer required, the Senator or Representative who placed him there says to the Secretary, "This man must be retained." Now, sir, if Representatives and Senators will just act upon the principle "hands off," and allow the Departments to control their own clerical force, they will have accomplished a great deal in the purification of the service, and place the clerical force, so far as that is concerned, and perhaps every other department of the civil service, in a satisfactory position.

WILLIAM MUNGEN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

The most remarkable feature of Mr. Mungen's record in the Forty-first Congress was his speech of December 16, 1869, in favor of repudiation of the United States debt. He thus briefly gave his view of the financial condition of the country :

The public debt in bonds amounts to about \$2,600,000,000; the interest on this in gold is annually \$146,000,000. To pay this interest the people are taxed twice that amount, or \$292,000,000 in gold, or \$438,000,000 in currency, under Radical legislation. For all this the people simply get in return the glorious satisfaction of having contributed to swell the wealth of the bloated and aristocratic bondholder; to feed and clothe and fill the pockets of a lot of dishonest Government officials, and to keep up the splendor and extravagance of a Republican administration. . . .

It has been truly said that "no large national war debt was ever paid or discharged except by repudiation." The great body of the bondholders to-day really do not desire to see the national debt paid, but they are anxious to have it made perpetual. They want a secure place to invest their wealth, and they want the laws so made as to mortgage the present and all the succeeding generations, our children and our children's children; mortgage their lands, their labor, their toil, their sweat, their flesh and blood, to the payment of the claims of a puffed-up and insolent aristocracy, an aristocracy of wealth—ill-gotten wealth at that. Will the American people submit to this? If so, how long can they bear the burden? For one, so far as the debt represented by the bonds of the United States is concerned, I am in favor of repudiation.

After deducing numerous examples from history of national repudiation, Mr. Mungen presented the reasons for his financial policy :

But I am in favor of repudiating the bonds issued for this debt because they were in nine cases out of ten dishonestly obtained: got through fraudulent contracts, shoddy contracts, etc.; because they were mostly bought for from thirty-five to fifty cents on the dollar, and were bought by capitalists at this reduced rate by a systematized and unpatriotic course of what I denominate swindling. The capitalists of this country did not advance a dollar to the Government until it was at its last extremity. . . .

Another reason for repudiation is that the taxes to pay the interest on these bonds so long as they are in existence are a prior lien on the property, labor, bone, muscle, and earnings of the masses. The private debts of the citizen may go unpaid, and his wife and children may suffer the pinchings and privations of cold and hunger, but the interest on the bonds must be paid; the Government officials must have their proportion; Mr. and Mrs. Shoddy must have their carriage, and their servants, and their plate, and their jewelry, and their luxuries despite the sufferings of the masses.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Myers served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Patents. One of the most useful achievements of this Congress was a thorough revision of the patent code. One section prescribed the payment of new fees, which Mr. Myers believed to be violative of the interests and rights of inventors. In a short speech against the provision he paid them the following glowing tribute:

Our country surpasses all others in the products of its inventive genius. In every branch of science and mechanism, in every department of art and literature too, the men who have thus ennobled themselves have made us illustrious also, adding comforts innumerable, riches untold, not only to this people, already highly favored, but to all lands. Fulton and Morse, Whitney and Good-year, Woodworth and Howe, are but a few of the names enshrined in the memories of a grateful people. Remember that each decade produces new wonders in the development of the mechanic arts, new strides in the progress of American genius, and let our appreciation of the efforts and wants of inventors be shown more in practical action than in mere lip-service.

The objectionable feature was stricken out. Mr. Myers did much to procure the passage of the bill providing for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence by holding an international exhibition in Philadelphia, securing as he did, and announcing officially, the indorsement of the measure by the Foreign Affairs Committee. From his speech on this subject, delivered December 14, 1870, we make the following extracts:

Mr. Speaker, in a little more than five years hence America will witness the most remarkable celebration that history will have to record—the hundredth birthday of a republic which has done more good for mankind than ever before was accomplished by any Government. It will mark a century of such advancement, not only in freedom, but in discovery and science and civilization, as was never dreamed of by the wildest enthusiast. National holidays are the well-springs at which a people drink new life, remembering the sources of their happiness; and this great holiday will recall and reiterate for posterity the noble beginnings, the self-sacrificing virtues of the fathers who framed a Government in which liberty was the corner-stone and manhood the only title to preferment. . . .

This mighty consummation must be honored not merely by a general thanksgiving, but it is admitted that under the national sanction there should be a national commemoration, an international exhibition, where not only the United States but other countries shall bring together some of the results which this wonderful century has quickened into existence; where agriculture shall still

assert the supremacy of the soil, and the mines pour out their wealth of ores; where commerce shall waft on new wings the gifts of the nations, and steam shall speed to us friendly thousands, and electricity send us messages of goodwill; where manufactures, the prohibition of which was a fruitful cause for the colonies to rebel, shall contribute from their vast storehouse of improvements; and from which it is hoped other lands may learn the lesson of unity and peace.

There is but one place where this national observance of our centennial anniversary can properly be held. A nation created and preserved will not by legislative decree celebrate its birthday by choosing a locality other than its birthplace. Especially will it not do so when every incident and adjunct unites with every association in rendering that birthplace the most admirable selection. . . .

All concede her historic title, for there the three important steps were taken which gave us these hundred years of prosperous life. There the first Congress met to deliberate on the oppressions which rendered necessary our separation from the mother country—a body of whom Lord Chatham said to Franklin they were “the most honorable assembly of men ever known.” There, two years later, in letters that kings might read from afar, John Hancock, with the great men who had been his fellow-laborers in the cause, with Jefferson and Franklin and Adams and Lee and Sherman among the rest, set their names to the Declaration of our Independence. There, eleven years later still, when the confederation of States proved faulty and insecure, Washington presided over the Convention of wise and patriotic men which framed the Constitution and assured to us that more perfect Union which bids fair to be perpetual.

Mr. Myers has been exceedingly active and efficient in procuring legislation promotive of the manufacturing and industrial interests of his city and State. As an instance we present an extract from his speech of April 11, 1870:

It is very well for the gentleman on the other side to say that this tariff bill is in the interest of capital. Sir, it is in the interest of labor, which is the only true capital of this country—a fact you cannot illustrate better than from this very branch of industry. If the gentleman will go with me some day into the district I represent I will show him the weaving shops attached, many of them, to the humble dwellings there, some of them in those dwellings. I will show him the employers themselves frequently working their looms side by side with their *employés*, and their wives and children often winding the bobbins. One hundred and fourteen of the class manufacturing more than \$5,000 a year produced last year carpets amounting in value to \$3,000,000. Many of these laboring people have latterly been thrown out of employment on account of the decline of gold, and yet it is now proposed to reduce still further the protection to this interest.

He was prominent, after three years of opposition, in securing League Island as a navy yard and naval station for iron-clads.

JAMES S. NEGLEY.

JAMES S. NEGLEY was born in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 26, 1826. His education, embracing a collegiate course, was interrupted when he was in his nineteenth year by his enlistment in the army for the war with Mexico. His parents and friends attempted to dissuade him from going, and the legal authorities were appealed to, on the ground of his minority, to nullify his enlistment; but, with the decision and spirit which has always characterized him, young Negley determined to go in spite of friends and family. Seeing this his parents abandoned any further effort to detain him, and as a private of the First Pennsylvania Infantry he made the campaign from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico. While participating in the siege of Puebla news reached his family that his health was much impaired, and his friends, through their influence at Washington, procured his discharge direct from the War Department. This reached young Negley immediately after the fall of Puebla; but he indignantly refused to accept it, and remained on duty as a sergeant, to which rank he had been promoted, until the close of the war. On his return to Pennsylvania Negley devoted himself actively to agriculture and horticulture. He is one of the most accomplished horticulturists in the country, and when in the field of war his leisure hours were devoted to the study of various fruits, flowers, and shrubs in which the Southern fields and woods abounded. Many a march—long, tedious, exhausting—has been rendered delightful to his staff by his interesting descriptive illustrations of the hidden beauties and virtues of fragrant flowers and repulsive weeds.

At the approach of the Rebellion Mr. Negley was one of the



few clear-sighted men who foresaw a bloody war. He warned the Pennsylvania Legislature of the approaching danger, and earnestly urged upon that body the thorough reorganization of the militia in view of the civil war which, he declared, already threatened the country; while at the same time he offered, as early as December 1, 1860, the services of a brigade to the Governor. Governor Curtin did not think the time had arrived for the work of raising troops; but on the 18th of April, 1861, amid all the excitement consequent on the actual commencement of hostilities, he summoned Negley to his aid, and at once commissioned him as Brigadier-General, in order to secure his services in organizing the immense force of volunteers who rendezvoused at Harrisburg at the first call to arms of the guns of Sumter.

The career of General Negley from that time forward was one of honor, promotion, and deserved success. He was commissioned Brigadier-General in the three months' service, and engaged under Patterson in the Northern Virginia campaign, commanding in the only engagement of any importance fought by that army. On the expiration of the time of his three months' brigade General Negley re-enlisted a brigade of three years' men, and in September, 1861, was ordered with it to Kentucky. Here he participated in the march on Nashville, and entered that city in February, 1862. From thence he was ordered to Columbia, Tennessee, in command of the district, and with orders to protect the rear of Buell's army, marching on Shiloh, and the division of General Mitchell, moving on Huntsville. This duty he performed with signal success, and at the same time made several raids of great importance.

At the battle of Stone River General Negley commanded a Division of the center Corps. On the first day he fought desperately and successfully for several hours until his flank became exposed, and he was compelled to retire upon the line of reserves. Here he fought for the remainder of the day and the succeeding day. On the afternoon of the third day of the battle, having been previously transferred to the left, he made a counter charge upon

the advancing column of the rebels under Breckenridge, and completely broke and routed it, pursuing the vanquished ex-Vice-President into his intrenchments, and establishing himself in such a position on the right flank of the rebel line as required its early evacuation. For this service he was promptly promoted Major-General.

General Negley was elected a Representative of the Twenty-second District of Pennsylvania to the Forty-first Congress, and served on the Committees on Military Affairs, Revolutionary Claims, and Enrolled Bills. His speech of May 11, 1870, on the Bill to revive the navigation and commercial interests of the United States, was a masterly effort, from which we make a few extracts :

The indications are becoming clearer every day that the commercial supremacy of northern Europe ought to terminate. If we do not neglect to improve our geographical advantages emanating from our position right between Asia and Europe, by establishing powerful steam lines across the Atlantic, the center of the world's trade will soon be shifted to this country. With China and eastern Asia we have already opened relations of the most cordial intercourse and of mutual advantage. It only remains for us to avail ourselves of the new eastern route to Asia and we will be masters of the situation. The development of our splendid resources gives us a greater relative weight each year in this contest, and only demands a certain degree of practical intelligence and of persistent energy to accomplish the result. . . .

By the policy of liberal subsidies the steam marine of England has increased four hundred and seventeen per cent., that of France six hundred and thirteen per cent., and that of Austria six hundred and thirty-seven per cent. during the past twenty years; while our steam marine, in consequence of our adverse policy, has increased only one hundred and ten per cent. during the same period.

Shall this proportion continue and we be left behind in the race of nations? Shall our ship-yards and machine-shops remain deserted, our trade be permanently languid, and our commerce dwindle away? Shall our commercial and naval system take inferior rank because we persevere in a policy which proves itself disastrous?

The highest public, social, and political considerations are at stake, and I cannot but think that this Government is ready to perform its part in the patriotic work of re-establishing the supremacy of our flag on the sea, and of recovering all our just commercial advantages. . . . I advocate prompt and liberal legislative action on the part of the Government and the States in favor of any and all enterprises which tend to revive our ship-building, especially the construction of large ocean steamers, and which lead to an early enlargement of our commerce and naval authority.

JOSEPH P. NEWSHAM.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

The certificate of election for Representative from the fourth district of Louisiana was given by the proper certifying officer of the State to Michael Ryan. In that certificate it was certified that he had received 10,385 votes, and Mr. Newsham 5,606 votes. Mr. Newsham, however, contested the seat of Mr. Ryan on the ground that this apparent majority was merely the triumph of fraud and violence. Mr. Garfield in a three minutes' speech, giving the reasons for his vote, thus clearly set forth the facts of the case:

“ These, as I understand, are the facts of record: the total registered vote was 25,027; the total vote cast was 20,500. There are ten parishes in the district. In four of them, it is urged, there was such disturbance as to render the election null and void. In the remaining six parishes the election was peaceable. In these six peaceable parishes there were 13,817 votes cast, being nearly 2,000 more than a majority of the total registered votes. Of these 13,817 votes Mr. Newsham is reported to have a clear majority of 609 in these six undisturbed parishes. In the disturbed parishes 6,643 votes were polled, of which Mr. Newsham has but three. That is a remarkable fact to begin with.

“ Now, from the column of tables given us of the four disturbed parishes, it appears that only six months before, in the month of April, the two political parties stood almost exactly equal in the gubernatorial fight: 2,814 for the Republican candidate for Governor, and 2,888 for all other persons. How comes it about that in six months, in four parishes where parties were equally balanced, while the Republican candidate has but three votes the Democratic candidate receives 6,643 votes, more than both parties cast in the gubernatorial election six months before? The fact bears on its face, to my mind, evidence that there was coercion or fraud, or at least some violent disruption, in these four parishes. It seems to me we ought to throw them out.”

The House, by a vote of 95 to 75, decided that Mr. Newsham was entitled to the seat, and he was sworn in May 25, 1870. He was a member of no committee, and took little part in the proceedings for the remainder of the Congress.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Niblack continued to serve on the Committees on Appropriations and Reorganization of the Civil Service of the Government. He favored the repeal of the Civil Tenure Act, remarking that he always opposed it; that it was an assault on the executive department of the Government; that its tendency was disastrous to the public service, and that it was in conflict with the Constitution of the country.

In Mr. Niblack's elaborate and able speech on the Deficiency Bill, (March 14, 1870,) after a very handsome introduction, in which, though a Democrat, he conceded that with his own party there had been in recent years some errors, and on the part of the Republicans some good things, he proceeded to arraign the latter in the manner following:

But while I concede that it has accomplished so much, I charge that from the beginning it has been a party of revolution, a party of discord, a party of intolerance, a party of extravagance, and a party of usurpation; and when it ceases to be all these it will cease to be the Republican party as we have known it in this country for the last fifteen years. It was born in a period of social and political revolution. After the old Whig party was destroyed, and the Democratic party very much weakened and disorganized by the American or Know-Nothing party, the detached political elements in the Northern States floated together and organized what they afterward called the Republican party. And during its organization ceremonies Sharp's rifles, bowie-knives, and other kindred weapons were used as a part of the paraphernalia and insignia of the party. John Brown commanded its skirmish lines and its outposts; and notwithstanding his mournful death, his spirit seems yet to live in much that the party still inflicts upon the country.

The matter of coast defenses having been assigned to Mr. Niblack by the Committee on Appropriations, he made an able and elaborate speech pending the consideration of the Fortification Bill. This speech comprised many interesting facts relating to coast and harbor defenses. The following extracts are from the introductory portions of the speech:

A great change has taken place during the past eight or nine years in the size and power of cannon, and the projectiles thrown by them, and in the construction of ships of war, by the introduction and use of iron plating upon such vessels. To meet these formidable armaments, and to successfully oppose these armored ships, some modifications were needed in the details of fortifications

formerly used with the lighter armaments in wooden vessels; and exactly what these modifications should be, excepting as to the application and use of iron, has been determined to a great extent during the past two years, so that the engineers have now, as they believe, definite and efficient plans and modifications for works to meet the present and prospective emergencies. . . .

The propriety or policy of fortifying our seaboard harbors against the inroads of hostile cruisers has repeatedly been the subject of legislative examination and of reports by Committees of Congress, and in every case, I believe, the wisdom of this mode of defense has been vindicated.

Indeed, the whole civilized world recognizes coast and harbor fortifications as one of the surest and safest national defenses in time of war, and especially in a war with a foreign Power; and all the more advanced nations are now actively engaged in making experiments which shall give increased strength to their fortifications. Each nation, too, is trying to conceal from all the others, as far as possible, such discoveries as it may have made from time to time in this matter of its national defenses. These discoveries are regarded as State secrets, and are not divulged through published official reports or in any other authorized manner by the Government through whose officers they have been made. When obtained by other Governments it is usually through irregular or indirect means. This is particularly the case in regard to the more important and valuable discoveries or inventions. If we shall keep pace with the other great nations of the world, therefore, in the improvement of our national defenses, we must from time to time make appropriations of such reasonable sums of money as may be necessary for that purpose.

Still another important speech was delivered to the House (July 9) pending the Legislative Appropriation Bill, in which Mr. Niblack favored the payment of claims presented by a certain class of amnestied persons in the South. In support of his position he alleged that the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that persons who had received amnesty may, through the Court of Claims, receive back the proceeds of their property that had been sold under the Act of March 12, 1863.

In his speech of February 17, 1871, pending the Army Appropriation Bill, he expressed his warm approbation of the regular army and of the volunteer soldiery, conceding the propriety and necessity of the military for the safety of the Government and country. At the same time he as warmly disapproved the use of military force outside of what he deemed its lawful sphere, and proceeded at large to deprecate the employment of such force in connection with State elections and the execution of the reconstruction measures.

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CHARLES O'NEILL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. O'Neill served on the Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Private Land Claims. On the 4th of January, 1871, pending the bill to provide for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence in Philadelphia, after having referred to the historical associations of that city, Mr. O'Neill spoke as follows:

Why, sir, our whole city is an endless daily exhibition of science and art and mechanical skill. Its streets are crowded with mechanical establishments of all kinds. A man passing through them may witness every thing that can be executed by skill in the mechanic arts. Besides, sir, the facilities of that city for bringing to it articles for exhibition are not equaled by those of any other city. We have systems of canals and railroads leading to all parts of the country. We have every possible means of communication, and every means of entertaining the multitudes of people who may be expected to attend this great exhibition. Our numerous and most convenient hotels and our one hundred and seventeen thousand dwelling-houses will certainly accommodate all who come. How many more thousands of dwelling-houses our city will contain in 1876 it is impossible now to tell. I feel assured that under the circumstances Congress will not hesitate to pronounce Philadelphia the most suitable place for this interesting event. . . .

It seems to me that from over this broad land there will come to our ears the unanimous voice of approval of our action in naming Philadelphia as the city in which to hold the national celebration of 1876. The people want it where the events to be celebrated occurred; where the Continental Congress held its sessions, (the Carpenters' Hall, although surrounded by commercial warehouses, still standing, and destined to remain forever a monument to the patriotic men who there assembled;) where, too, as you all know, is Independence Hall, the very room in which the Declaration was agreed upon, unaltered in its interior arrangements, and the building itself consecrated to the end of time as the temple of American freedom, never to be closed to the visitor, who ever delights to enter its sacred portals. Why, then, should we hesitate about the passage of this bill?

I am sure there can be no serious opposition to it, or at all events such opposition as would suggest really and sincerely the holding of the exhibition anywhere else. The countries of Europe hold these exhibitions, and why not let the United States, under an act of Congress, inaugurate one? Let us show to the world that we can compete with every nation in the arts, in science, and in manufactures; and, more than all, let us declare, at the distance of one hundred years from the day of the Declaration, and from the very spot upon which we were made free, that the men of America still cherish the memory of those who laid the foundation of our greatness and our unequalled prosperity. . . . The citizens of Philadelphia and the citizens of Pennsylvania invite the citizens of the whole country and of the whole world to come among them and help celebrate this centenary exhibition.

GODLOVE S. ORTH.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Orth retained his position on the Committee on Foreign Affairs and as Chairman of the Committee on Private Land Claims.


Soon after the organization of this Congress the Committee on Foreign Affairs was charged by the House with the investigation of our "troubles in Paraguay," and Mr. Orth was appointed Chairman of the Sub-Committee to whom the subject was referred. After thorough and laborious investigation, Mr. Orth, on behalf of a majority of the Committee, submitted a voluminous report to the House, and after full discussion the House sustained the report, ordered Admirals Davis and Godon to be tried by Naval Court-Martial, and approved the course of the President and of Minister Washburne.

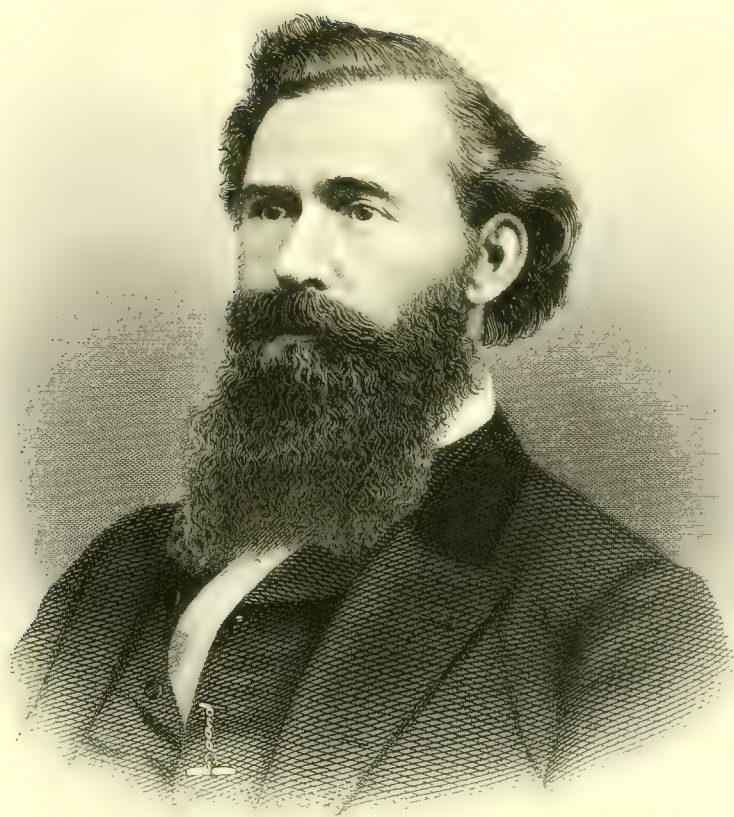
The question of the recognition of "belligerency" in Cuba attracted at this time to a considerable extent the attention of the country and of Congress. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom the subject was referred, was divided upon the course to be adopted by our Government, and Mr. Orth, on behalf of a minority of the Committee, presented a report which was sustained by the House. During the discussion which ensued Mr. Orth said:

I yield to no gentleman on the floor of this House in expressions of sympathy for any people who, suffering from oppression, are fighting for independence. It is an American sentiment that all men should be free. These generous impulses are part of our nature; they are among the earliest impressions of our childhood; we receive them in lineal descent from our Revolutionary ancestors; they are the proud heritage of every American. But personal sympathy must not be permitted to influence official action in derogation of the just rights of others. If my sympathy could give the Cubans independence and separate nationality they should have it before the going down of the sun. But, sir, when I am asked to entangle the Government in a controversy in which we have every thing to lose and nothing to gain, I cannot do it, I dare not do it, and I have the fullest confidence that this House will not do it.

General Schenck, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, having resigned his seat in Congress to accept the appointment of Minister to England, Mr. Orth was appointed a member of that Committee, and served as such to the end of this Congress.

JASPER PACKARD.

 ASPER PACKARD was born in Trumbull (now Mahoning) County, Ohio, February 1, 1832. His father was a hard-working farmer of that locality, who with his wife came from Western Pennsylvania and carved a home out of the wilderness. The subject of this sketch was the youngest of twelve children, and when but three years of age his parents moved to Indiana, settling again in the wilderness, again to make a home by hard and rugged labor. At that time there were few neighbors except Indians, and facilities for education were meager and imperfect, but they were eagerly sought, and the usual alternation was kept up of three months' school in the winter and labor on the farm in the milder seasons. At the age of eighteen his father died, and the boy was thrown upon his own resources. Determining to secure an education, he labored in the harvest-field in summer and taught school in winter, keeping even with his classes in college. One year of his course of study was passed at Oberlin, Ohio, after which he entered Michigan University, and graduated in 1855. Marrying the same year, he engaged in teaching, together with his wife, whose companionship and helping hand were to him invaluable. He edited the *La Porte Union* during a part of 1859 and 1860, and having studied law he was admitted to the bar, and had just commenced the practice of his profession when the war of the Rebellion called him away from his chosen pursuit. Enlisting early as a private in the Forty-eighth Indiana Volunteers he was soon made First Lieutenant of his company. After the battles of Iuka and Corinth he was promoted to the captaincy of another company in the same regiment, which he commanded in the Vicks-



Jasper Packard

burg campaign and the battles at Chattanooga. At the attack on the fortifications of Vicksburg on the 22d of May, 1863, he was severely wounded in the face and was off duty for two months, the only time he lost during four years and a half of military service.

Early in 1864 he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the One hundred and twenty-eighth Indiana Volunteers, which regiment he commanded during the Atlanta campaign, the campaign against Hood in Tennessee, and in the operations of Schofield's command in North Carolina, being further promoted to Colonel and brevetted Brigadier-General. His regiment was the last of the Indiana troops to be mustered out of the service, being on duty in North Carolina until April, 1866.

Prior to his return home his friends had suggested his name as County Auditor, to which office he was elected in the ensuing October. At the State Convention in February, 1868, Mr. Packard was appointed Presidential Elector for the Eleventh Indiana District, and he was prominently mentioned as a Republican candidate for Congress in case Mr. Colfax should be nominated for Vice-President. This contingency occurring, Mr. Packard received the nomination for Congress, and engaged at once with untiring industry in the canvass. He spoke one hundred and six times in three months, and received a majority of twelve hundred and twenty-one, although the majority in the whole State was less than one thousand, the majority in the district two years before being something over two thousand, with a State majority of fourteen thousand.

He was nominated for the Forty-second Congress almost by acclamation, and worked through the campaign with an earnestness and energy which did not permit apathy to endanger the success of the Republican ticket. He spoke eighty-five times in two months, and visited every neighborhood in an unusually large district. The fruit of this exertion was a majority four hundred greater in the district than in 1868, although the Democrats gained in the State thirty-five hundred.

Taking his seat as a Representative from Indiana in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Packard was appointed a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. His course has been characterized by quiet industry and strict attention to the duties of his position. The following extract from a newspaper communication, written in May, 1870, correctly presents his course as a Representative :


“Since he has taken his seat as a member of the Forty-first Congress the same remarkable success has followed him, until it is conceded that no new member has made a brighter record than he. He is true to his party; is always at his post; he never misses a meeting of his Committee; his name is recorded on every ballot; he is prompt to answer every correspondent; and attentive to every request, in season and out of season. Now securing an appropriation for our Michigan City harbor, then urging through a pension claim for a poor disabled soldier; now speaking with earnest and eloquent words for the Republican Party, then securing the establishment of a new post-office for the accommodation of the people; now presenting to the House a most convincing argument for the reduction of taxation, and always carefully attending to every duty imposed on him by the House, his Committees, the Departments, and his correspondents.”

Mr. Packard has seldom spoken in the House, except on matters which came from his Committee, and then briefly and to the point. His political record is one of consistent adherence to the Republican party. He cast his first vote for its first candidate for President, and has since stood firmly by its leading members, because he believed them to be right. His most elaborate speech in the Forty-first Congress was entitled, “The Republican Party, its Present Duties and Past Achievements, and Democratic Repudiation.” “I have faith in the American people,” he said in this speech, “and I should not dare to look my constituents in the face if I did not indignantly deny for them the charge that they are willing to repudiate one dollar of what they justly owe. I will not impute to them, or permit others to impute to them, such amazing dishonesty.”



J. P. Sackett

JOHN B. PACKER.

OHN B. PACKER was born in Sunbury, Pennsylvania, March 21, 1824. He received an academical education and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1844, and engaged in the practice of his profession in his native place, which continues to be his residence. He was District Attorney from 1845 to 1847. He was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1850 and 1851. He was elected a Representative from Pennsylvania to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 15,598 votes against 12,902 for Knipe, Democrat. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress, receiving 13,620 votes, against 11,266 votes for E. G. Scott.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Packer served on the Committee on Banking and Currency, and the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department. He seldom occupied the time of the House with remarks; he, however, made speeches on the Currency Bill and on the Tariff. He opposed the reduction of the duty upon pig iron as "an abandonment of the general principle recognized in the preparation of the bill." He characterized it as "a most unwise and injudicious withdrawal of the fostering care of the Government from one of the great industrial interests of the country, toward which, in the present state of the trade itself, and in view of the peculiar condition of our financial affairs, sound and enlightened policy would dictate an extension of increased protection and more liberal encouragement, rather than a desertion to the inevitable consequence of direct and unjust competition with the productions of the cheap and poorly-paid labor of Europe."

In the third session Mr. Packer introduced a bill to place tea and coffee upon the free list, and to increase the duties upon pig and scrap iron.

HALBERT E. PAINE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Paine was Chairman of the Committee on Elections, one of the most laborious of the Congressional committees, and in this capacity introduced many resolutions and made numerous speeches in the House. He was also a member of the Committee on Reconstruction, and he took a prominent part in legislation relating to that subject. The following eloquent words were spoken by him during the discussion of the reconstruction of Georgia :


Our rebellious fellow-citizens of Georgia, not content with their struggle of four years' duration to overthrow this Government by arms, have attempted to practice a stupendous fraud upon the people of these United States, upon the Government of the United States, upon the loyal people who have at so heavy a cost thwarted their attempt to overthrow the Republic. They have undertaken to play a trick upon us, a trick marked with treachery hardly less odious than that which characterized the Rebellion itself. They vainly imagined that they were safe in their sin ; that they had escaped all hazard of Federal interference with their machinations ; that we would be powerless either to punish or to check their outrages on the Constitution or their treacherous frauds upon the people and Government of the United States.

But, sir, they are about to be disabused of these delusions of treason. They are about to learn a wholesome lesson which will not be lost on other States. They are about to learn that upon this great stage of State reconstruction no foul tricks are to be played. They are about to learn that there is a new chapter in our fundamental law, a fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which guaranties equality of rights to all our loyal citizens, and disqualifies unpardoned rebels for office. They are about to learn that Congress has the right to enforce that amendment by appropriate legislation, and that Congress has the sole right of judging what is that appropriate legislation. They are about to learn that Congress will not, in cases of necessity, hesitate to bring down the hard hand of military power upon the guilty heads of those who insolently trample upon these sacred provisions of our Constitution. It will be well and wise if other States as well as Georgia heed the stern but just and necessary lesson about to be taught. It will be well and wise if they forthwith awaken to the fact that there is at length created in the national Constitution a power against which all pompous displays of nullification, all ostentatious claims of State sovereignty, all barriers of State rights, will be as vain as were the chains of Xerxes against the power of the sea. Let them take cognizance of the existence of this power, and of our determination to exercise it when circumstances shall require it. So may we be spared the necessity of exercising it again. So may the people of the States lately in rebellion, as of all the other States, learn to deal fairly and justly by all classes and races, to accord the equal protection of the law to all. So may the people lately in rebellion gradually and yet speedily recover all their political power.



J. W. Palmer

FRANK W. PALMER.

RANK W. PALMER was born in Manchester, Dearborn County, Indiana, October 11, 1827. The ensuing year his father's family removed to Chautauqua County, New York, and his childhood and the early portion of his manhood were passed in that county. At the age of fourteen years he was apprenticed in the office of the "Jamestown Journal" to learn the trade of a printer.

At the expiration of his three years' apprenticeship he worked about one year as a journeyman compositor in the office of J. & E. Winchester, publishers of the "New World," in New York city; another year as foreman in the establishment where he had graduated as a printer in Jamestown; and in June, 1848, before he had reached his year of majority, was associated with F. P. Bailey as joint owner and editor of the "Jamestown Journal." In 1853 and in 1854 he was elected as a Whig member of Assembly from the Second District of Chautauqua County.

In the relations of editor and publisher of the "Journal" Mr. Palmer remained in Jamestown ten years, and thence removed to Dubuque, Iowa, where he became chief editor and one of the proprietors of the "Dubuque Daily Times." In the winter of 1860 he was elected State Printer of Iowa, and in May, 1861, removed to Des Moines, becoming editor and proprietor of the "State Register," published in that city. He was re-elected as State Printer in 1862, 1864, and 1866. In 1868 he was nominated as the Republican candidate for Representative in Congress from the Fifth District of Iowa, and was elected by a majority of 7,007. In 1870 he was renominated, and elected by a majority of 7,282.

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On taking his seat as a Representative from Iowa in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Palmer was appointed a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad, the Select Committee on Postal Telegraph Lines, and the Joint Committee on the Library. Mr. Palmer's first speech was an able argument against the immediate restoration of Virginia to representation, in which, after presenting much documentary proof of "the present disloyal sentiment of the people of Virginia," he added :

It is known that the blacks in the States are voters, and they ought to be qualified by education to be intelligent voters. What is the spirit of the whites in Virginia toward the blacks in their midst on this subject of education? Sir, after the so-called Conservatives had accepted the aid of the blacks and had gone side by side with them to the polls, it would have been no more than decent on the part of the former to have extended every possible encouragement in the way of education to the latter. What have they done? They have not afforded a single dollar of aid for the establishment of common schools for either the blacks or the whites. On the other hand, you find that a military school in the city of Lexington, where the Federal flag is only kept floating by Federal military force, and where the rebel youth of the South are taught to worship the memory of the "lost cause," receives the aid of an annual appropriation of \$15,000 for its support from the Virginia treasury. You will find that there is an annuity also from the public treasury for the support of the institution over which presides the head of the rebel army, Robert E. Lee. You will also find a public annuity, and a liberal one, for the support of the University at Charlottesville, all for the benefit of the men who are the ruling class, the rebels of Virginia; but not a dollar, not a farthing, for the blacks of that State.

These are some of the evidences of the spirit of that people whose representatives you propose to bring back here into these Halls of Congress, to make laws not only for the people of Virginia, but also for the constituencies you represent.

In closing, Mr. Palmer used these words :

What constitutes the strength of a State? Not extended territory, nor superiority of number of inhabitants, nor strength of warlike armaments on land or sea, nor financial credit, nor even patriotic devotion; for all these we had during the late four years' war, and we should have failed had we not possessed as the basis of governmental defense the broadest recognition of the principles of human equality and human liberty. With that recognition reflected from the bayonets of our soldiery and embodied in all tangible acts of national authority, the liberty-loving masses of the world became our allies, and from the lowly cabins of the slaves of the South, and beneath the thatched roofs of the cottages of the poor on every mountain-top and in every valley of all Europe, prayers ascended to the great Leader of armies and the Ruler of nations for the success of our cause, and success was achieved. Let not what was thus secured by fidelity to liberty in times of war be lost by an abandonment of liberty in times of peace.

LE GRAND W. PERCE.



LE GRAND W. PERCE was born at Buffalo, New York, June 19, 1836. He received an academic education, studied law at the Albany Law University, and engaged in its practice. He entered the volunteer service in April, 1861; was appointed second lieutenant in the Sixth Michigan Volunteers in August, 1861, and captain in June, 1862; was brevetted major at Port Hudson in May, 1863; was appointed captain of the United States Volunteers in August, 1863, and was brevetted lieutenant-colonel and colonel in 1865. At the close of the war he settled in Mississippi, and was elected to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican.

Mississippi having been admitted to representation, Mr. Perce took his seat as a member of the Forty-first Congress February 23, 1870, and was appointed a member of the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Enrolled Bills. Pending the bill to admit the State of Georgia to representation in Congress, Mr. Perce made an elaborate speech, in which he said:

Sir, the Republican party of the South, born amid the whirlwind of passion and strife engendered by civil warfare, has never known the soothing influences of peace. We exist there only because of a constancy to principle and purpose, and a firm, unwavering devotion on the part of the colored people of the South, only equaled by the fortitude of the martyrs; and I submit, sir, that in determining our action the voice of that people and their Representatives should be heard and listened to with respect. . . .

Sir, I know the Republican party South. I know their aims and aspirations. I know the people composing the great body of that party in the South, and I assert that, from the humblest laborer in the cotton-field to the representative of his race in the Senate Chamber, they breathe nothing but "peace and good will to all men." They ask no favor, but fair, open-handed justice. The passage of the bill as originally reported by the Reconstruction Committee will give them a fair start in their new political life and no more. The passage of the amendments proposed will turn them over to the lash, the knife, and the bullet of their hereditary oppressors.

JOHN A. PETERS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Peters was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, and Chairman of the House branch of the Joint Committee on the Library. In his remarks on the extension of the patent for the Hoe printing-press, December 7, 1869, Mr. Peters made this interesting statement :

I was a member of the Committee on Patents in the Fortieth Congress. Being the New England member, so to speak, of that committee, I have received from I believe every editor, or nearly every one, and from every New England man interested largely in printing whose pecuniary interests would be adverse to the bill, letters urgently asking that it be passed. I never knew a case before that committee or any other in which there was exhibited on the part of men pecuniarily interested against a bill so much urgency and unanimity of sentiment, and such perseverance, too, in favor of the passage of the measure. I received from the proprietors of the "Boston Advertiser," the "Boston Courier," and all the principal newspapers of New England, letters strongly urging the extension of this patent.

The committee found that for this invention, which has so largely benefited mankind, the inventor has only received about two hundred thousand dollars, and they thought he ought to receive a much larger compensation.

Speaking on the bill to revive the navigation and commercial interests of the United States, Mr. Peters said :

In the Massachusetts colony, for many years during the seventeenth century, shipwrights were regarded as such benefactors of the country as to be exempted from military service and other public duties. In the very beginning of our Government the shipwrights of Massachusetts and South Carolina petitioned Congress in almost the same language of the thousands of petitions now before us, and our early annals will show that beneficent and protective acts of legislation were obtained by them.

Mr. Speaker, all the nations of the earth who have but a lookout upon the ocean, or can get upon it only by some river as a highway, are now cultivating and preserving all the commerce they can command, and shall the American people, who possess almost a continent, surrounded by all the seas, lag behind all other great nations in maintaining a commercial renown? . . .

Give us motive to increase our tonnage, any and all kinds of tonnage, and you will stimulate and build up a maritime prosperity. Help rescue this national industry now while it is sinking, instead of resorting by and by to more expensive means of resuscitation after the business has sunk to the bottom. The South should feel an interest in this measure for their own particular welfare. To the North it is a vital matter. We have given the West our bounties for public improvements, and granted to her immensely from our public domain. Ay, more, and much more valuable, we have sent out to her a tide of our population. The least which all the sections can do for the revival of a great national industry and interest is to vote for this bill.



S. Phelps


DARWIN PHELPS.



DARWIN PHELPS was born in East Granby, Hartford County, Conn., on the 17th day of April, 1807. His father and mother both died before he was nine years of age. In the fall of 1818 he left Granby and went to Aurora, Portage County, Ohio, to live with his maternal grandfather, Samuel Forward, with whom he remained four or five years employed in farming. In 1826 he went to Pittsburgh, Pa., and entered the Western University, where he received a good education. He studied law with his uncle, Hon. Walter Forward, was admitted to the bar in 1831, and commenced the practice of law in Pittsburgh; but his failing health obliging him to leave the city, he took a tour through the Southern States in the winter of 1834-5. Returning in the following spring, he located in Kittanning, Armstrong County, Penn., where he has resided and followed his profession ever since. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1856, and the same year the Whig candidate for Auditor General of Pennsylvania. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention in 1860 that nominated Mr. Lincoln for President, and was by a handsome majority elected as a Republican to the Forty-first Congress.

Mr. Phelps was placed on the Committees on Invalid Pensions and Expenditures on Public Buildings. A man of few words, he scarcely ever proffered a set speech, and rarely arose to address the House, save for the presenting of petitions or offering reports as a member of Committee. In voting he was true to the party of which he was a faithful representative, and in attention to the numerous duties of his position, attentive to the interests of his constituents.

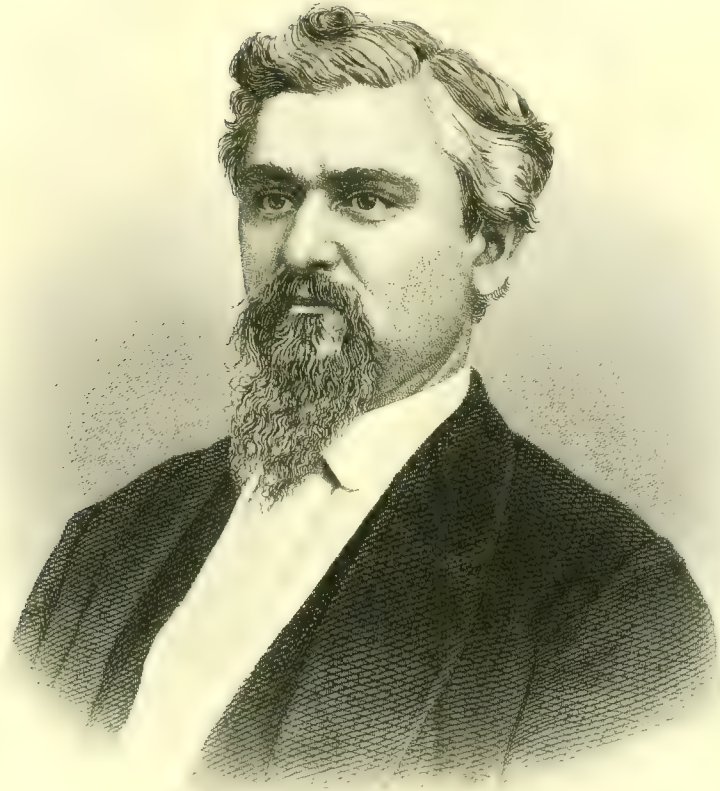
JAMES H. PLATT, JUN.

AMES H. PLATT, JUN., was born in St. John's, Canada, July 13, 1837, of parents who were American citizens, and residents of Burlington, Vermont. He received an academic education, and at the age of eighteen entered the Medical Department of the University of Vermont, from which he graduated in 1858, and immediately commenced the practice of his profession. In the following year he married Miss S. C. Foster, daughter of Hon. George W. Foster, of Swanton, and settled in West Hartford, Vermont.

Mr. Platt was an enthusiastic Republican, and had cast his first Presidential ballot for Abraham Lincoln. The moment intelligence was received of the attack on Fort Sumter he commenced raising a company pledged to obey any call that might be made upon it by the State or General Government. At a meeting held at White River Village a few days later to assist in raising and equipping this company Mr. Platt predicted a long war in his speech on the occasion, using this language :

I regret, Mr. Chairman, my inability to believe with my friends who have preceded me that the war now inaugurated is to have a speedy termination, or that the seventy-five thousand men now called for by the President will be sufficient to quell this formidable rebellion ; on the contrary, sir, I am compelled to believe that we have entered upon a contest that will test to the utmost our patriotism, our endurance, and our financial ability ; a contest for which the South has been long preparing, and for which we have as yet made no preparation ; a contest in which we have got to meet a brave, impetuous, well-armed, and prepared antagonist ; an issue which involves our national existence, and in which the questions that have so long divided us politically are to be settled by the arbitrament of the sword.

These views were reiterated at a meeting held a few days later in West Hartford, and found but few believers. The company



James H. Platt Jr.

was soon filled, but failed to be accepted in the first regiment that left the State. Mr. Platt was elected First Sergeant of the company, which was assigned to the Third Vermont Regiment. While this regiment was in camp at St. Johnsbury Governor Fairbanks requested Mr. Platt to remain in the State to assist in raising and organizing another regiment. He consented to do so, and recruited a full company at Chelsea, Orange County, Vermont, which became Company B of the Fourth Vermont Regiment. Mr. Platt was unanimously elected Captain, and in that capacity participated in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac was engaged until after the battle of Fredericksburg, December, 1862. Here he lost more than half his company in attempting to capture a battery from the enemy. For gallant conduct he was invited by General William F. Smith, then commanding the Sixth Corps, to a position on his staff, which he accepted. On leaving his company he was presented by the survivors with an elegant saber, accompanied by a letter signed by every member expressing their regard for him as a friend and commanding officer, and their sorrow at parting from him. The following extract from Frank Moore's Rebellion Record relates truthfully an incident of this battle :

Captain James H. Platt, Jun., of Company B, Fourth Vermont Regiment, having been ordered with his company to the right of the skirmish line, after having once expended all his ammunition and been resupplied, led his men out in front of a battery, within three hundred yards, where they did noble execution till a charge of canister struck down half the company, killing eleven and wounding fourteen, when he ordered them back to reform, which they did, and retired in good order with the regiment just relieved ; yet not all, for, calling some to his side, the humane captain, a skillful physician, bound up the most dangerous wounds, thus prolonging at least several lives, and, with the assistance he had summoned, bore away to the hospital, a mile distant, all who were unable to help themselves. This was done amid bullets and canister flying like hail, yet through a kind Providence no one was harmed. As the gallant captain said, " God would not let us suffer while in discharge of such a duty."

Captain Platt served on the staff of General Smith until that officer was relieved from command of the Sixth Corps by Major-General John Sedgwick, with whom he remained until that gallant

officer was killed at Spottsylvania Court House on the 12th day of May, 1864. The following letter by General Sedgwick, supposed to be the last one ever written by him, shows the estimation in which he held Captain Platt :

HEAD-QUARTERS SIXTH ARMY CORPS, *April 21, 1864.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General United States Army.

GENERAL : The term of service of Captain James H. Platt, Jun., Fourth Vermont Volunteers, Acting Chief Quarter-master of this corps, expires in a short time. I am exceedingly anxious to retain him in the position he now occupies, especially during the campaign about to commence. He is an officer admirably fitted for the duties he is called upon to perform. He has great energy and business capacity, and has at all times conducted the affairs of his office in a peculiarly acceptable manner. He has acted as Quarter-master at these headquarters for a year past. He has had, therefore, a valuable experience in the different branches of the Quarter-master's Department, and this fact, in connection with his recognized ability, would render his loss from this service a serious disadvantage. As a means of retaining him I earnestly recommend his appointment as Assistant Quarter-master United States Volunteers, and assignment as Chief Quarter-master of this corps, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and would respectfully ask, if the appointment can consistently be made, that early action be taken in the case, and that he may be allowed when appointed to continue on duty at these headquarters.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN SEDGWICK, Major-General.

On the 30th of May, 1864, Colonel Platt was captured by a portion of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry near Coal Harbor, taken to Richmond, and confined in Libby Prison. Thence he was taken to Macon, Georgia, and was one of the first six hundred prisoners sent from there to Charleston, South Carolina, and placed in buildings directly in range of the fire of the United States batteries, the rebels vainly imagining that exposing Union prisoners in that way would stop the bombardment. He was released on parole October 8, 1864, and declared exchanged on the 19th of December, and was honorably discharged at his own request.

On the 5th of April, 1865, the day after its evacuation, Colonel Platt became a citizen of Petersburg, Virginia, and has since that time continued to reside there. He has been very largely engaged in business, principally farming, mining, and cutting wood and

lumber for the northern market. He has employed more labor than any other one man in his district.

After the passage of the reconstruction acts of March, 1867, he was invited to address a mass meeting called to ratify those acts, and, accepting the invitation, on the 8th day of April, 1867, addressed the first Republican mass meeting held in the State. The speech he delivered on that occasion was published by the Republican Club of Petersburg, and attracted wide notice and extended comment from the press. In it he laid down the principles which he hoped would be the platform of the Republican party of Virginia. This platform was subsequently adopted by the State Convention which met in Richmond on the 17th of April, 1867, precisely as written by Colonel Platt. In October, 1867, he was elected a delegate from the city of Petersburg to the Constitutional Convention which assembled in Richmond on the 3d of December. In the Convention he was one of the most prominent members; was Chairman of the Committee on bill of rights and division of the powers of government. He was the author of several important sections of the Constitution. His speeches in the Convention when presenting the report of the Committee on the bill of rights, and on the question granting the right of suffrage to colored men, attracted much notice, and gave him considerable reputation in the State. He was a delegate at large from Virginia to the Convention which nominated General Grant at Chicago. He was very active in establishing a system of common-school education in Petersburg. He served for several years as a member of the Board of Education of that city, as a member of the City Council, and as a Director in the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad. On the establishment of the People's Savings Bank in Petersburg he was elected its president, which position he continues to hold. He was elected to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and served on the Naval Committee. He was appointed a member of the Union Republican Congressional Executive Committee, and was elected its secretary, which position he filled acceptably during the campaign of 1869.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Poland was Chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States, a position for which his talents and experience as a jurist eminently qualified him. The project of a revision and consolidation of the statutes of the United States had for a long time been favored by Mr. Sumner, and he had repeatedly introduced bills for that purpose, but without any result until the Thirty-ninth Congress. Judge Poland had been appointed to the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Collamer, and he also filled the place on the Judiciary Committee of the Senate formerly held by his predecessor. The bill for the Revision of the Statutes of the United States was reported by him from the Judiciary Committee, and under his lead it passed the Senate and became a law.

Commissioners were appointed to make the revision, but a series of accidents and negligences prevented its completion in the three years allowed, and only a small part of the work had been done. The failure had been so great that a strong prejudice existed against further effort in that direction. During the Forty-first Congress Judge Poland reported a bill for extending the time for revising and consolidating the statutes of the United States. It met with a very decided opposition in the House, not upon the ground that such a revision was not greatly needed, but that a farther effort would be likely to be as unproductive of benefit as that already made. In the course of the debate on the bill Mr. Poland spoke of the work as follows :

Mr. Speaker, this law, providing for a revision of the statutes of the United States, was passed nearly three years ago—three years in June next—and in the latter part of July, or early in August thereafter, the President appointed three commissioners to execute the work, at the head of whom was a gentleman from the State of Massachusetts.

Gentlemen who complain of delay in reference to this work only show that they have not examined it to know any thing about the nature and perplexity of the work. All the statutes that have ever been passed by the Congress of the United States now stand upon the statute books. We have already fifteen large volumes of statutes, the greater part of which are entirely obsolete. I have looked over, for instance, the compilation of the laws in reference to the Army of the United States, which I think is embraced in a pamphlet of about

seventy-five or eighty pages, and it required an examination and enables a repeal of more than five hundred distinct and independent statutes. You can see from that something of the amount of labor that is required to carry out the work.

The bill passed the House, and subsequently the Senate. Under it another Board of Commissioners was appointed who are prosecuting the work with great diligence, and it is now expected that it will be entirely completed before the expiration of the Forty-second Congress.

The Committee on the Revision of the Laws, although created to take charge of the revision on foot, has been practically treated as concurrent with the Judiciary Committee on legal subjects, and during this Congress reported many important alterations and amendments of existing laws. One of the most important was a bill prepared by Judge Poland, authorizing any of the public departments, before whom any claim is pending against the Government, to take testimony upon the subject, and also to call upon the Department of Justice to furnish professional assistance in investigating the case. It is a singular fact that up to the passage of this bill there had never been any law by which testimony could be taken in opposition to claims presented against the Government for settlement before its accounting officers or any authorized professional assistance employed. All such cases were heard and decided upon the *ex-parte* evidence produced by the claimant. It is not wonderful that fraudulent claims were sometimes passed. The wonder is that no more of them were allowed.

Mr. Poland did not often participate in debate, but when he did so he invariably spoke with perceptible effect. A good instance is seen in a speech of five minutes in favor of the Northern Pacific Railroad, in which he commenced by saying that he was not a railroad man, and had never been owner of a share of railroad stock, and yet the road was one in which his constituents felt a deep interest. He then, in a few concise and eloquent sentences, vindicated the friends of the enterprise from charges of having used corrupt means to secure the construction of this great national highway.

CHARLES POMEROY.



CHARLES POMEROY was born in Meriden, Connecticut, September 3, 1825. His father, Noah Pomeroy, was a prominent man socially, politically, and religiously. He was one of the early and leading manufacturers of the place, possessed of business talent sufficient to insure success in every undertaking, and to accumulate a comfortable estate. His son, the subject of this sketch, inherited from him the sterling traits of industry, energy, perseverance, and integrity. From his mother he inherited those virtues which sanctify manhood no less than womanhood—intense tenderness in affection, keen sympathy for suffering, and that open-hearted and open-handed charity which “thinketh no evil.” Gentle to inferiors, thoughtful of her equals, unassuming in her demeanor, and yet ever impressing you with a sense of quiet strength, was the mother, and so also is the son.

Mr. Pomeroy was naturally studious and reflective, manifesting even in boyhood a tendency to literary pursuits. He enjoyed the usual advantages of common-school education till the age of fourteen, when he was sent to Bacon Academy in Colchester. For four years he pursued a thorough academic course, dividing his time between Colchester and his native town, preparatory to entering Yale College. But though possessed of a strong constitution, by incessant reading and close application to his studies his health became so impaired that it was not deemed advisable for him to attempt a collegiate course. To restore his wasted physical vigor he spent a winter in Alabama, and on his return to the North yielded finally to the reiterated requests of his father and engaged in manufacturing, and though the duties which thus devolved upon him were repugnant to his tastes, he performed them faithfully,



Chas. Pomeroy

being as industrious and conscientious a business man as he had been a student, and employing all his leisure hours in those pursuits which were congenial to his nature. From his early manhood, indeed before he reached the years of manhood, he was an active participant in the lyceums of his native town, and his power as a debater, the originality, breadth, and depth of thought he ever evinced, and the classical purity of his language, are still well remembered by those who heard him in "the old red school-house."

During the Fremont campaign, (1856,) in which his feelings were deeply interested, Mr. Pomeroy was called to the stump in Connecticut, and was sent for night after night in all the adjacent towns, his carefully considered, though apparently extemporaneous, speeches carrying conviction from their sentiment, and creating enthusiasm from their spirit.

His health, which had been failing for some time, was seriously injured by this incessant labor, and his friends, fearing that he was going into consumption, advised a change of climate. He removed, therefore, early in the winter of that year to Boonsborough, Iowa, making one of the few eastern families at that time resident in the far West. His only thought on reaching Iowa was to restore his health, which he did effectually by living the simple and primitive life of a pioneer, and working daily upon the farm or in the forest. His social worth soon became known to his new associates, and he made many and fast friends. He was one of the first Republicans there to take political standing, interesting himself at an early day with the issues then before the people of his adopted State, and identifying himself with the side which he believed had only honest purposes. He was instrumental in establishing the first newspaper issued in Boone County, cheerfully sacrificing both comfort and means to insure its pecuniary success, while he was ever ready to assist with his versatile and vigorous pen its literary and political triumphs. During the "hard times" which bore down so heavily upon the early settlers of Central Iowa in the money crisis of 1857-58, Mr. Pomeroy, though suffering with others privations and trials which can be

only properly estimated by those who have borne them, maintained an unflinching courage and uncomplaining fortitude.

In 1858 he was appointed one of the Trustees of the Iowa University, and the journeys to the eastern part of the State which this necessitated became the pleasant and fortunate opportunities of forming friendships with men of prominent political and social worth, friendships which not only alleviated many of the trials of pioneer life, but which brought him frequently and favorably before the public. In 1860 he was placed upon the Lincoln electoral ticket, and stumped the eastern part of the State for several weeks during that exciting campaign. Coming as he did from what was then a remote and obscure town, he had always first to overcome the prejudices or indifference of his audience. At one time, in Iowa City, he rose to speak after the exercises were supposed to be over, and while the people were rising to leave the hall. His first sentence brought an amused stare and a whispered wonder as to "what that backwoodsman could possibly have to say," his second arrested attention, his third brought silence, his fourth a noiseless return to seats, after which he held the audience for an hour, winning in that time a reputation which has ever since insured him in that city a plenty of admiring hearers.


In 1861, without solicitation on his part, he was appointed Receiver of the United States Land Office at Fort Dodge. This obliged him to remove from Boonsborough, and also to close up the law office which he had opened as soon as his restoration to health permitted him to resume the confinement of study.

In 1869 Mr. Pomeroy resigned the office of receiver to take a seat as a Representative from Iowa in the Forty-first Congress, to which he had been elected by the Republicans of the Sixth District. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Territories and the Committee on Mines and Mining. His first remarks in the House, made February 18, 1870, on the Legislative Appropriation Bill, were in vigorous advocacy of economy in public expenditures. On the 22d of March following he delivered an able speech in favor of the bill to suppress polygamy in Utah.



Charles H. Porter.

CHARLES H. PORTER.

HARLES H. PORTER was born in Cairo, Greene County, New York, June 21, 1833. He attended the schools of his native village until 1847, when he further prosecuted his studies at the Rensselaerville Academy in Albany County. In 1849 he entered the law office of his brother-in-law, P. C. Mattoon, Esq., at Cairo, varying his pursuits, however, with a term at school-teaching, and by serving as Secretary of the Greene County Agricultural Society. He continued the study of law, a portion of the time a student of the University at Albany, until September, 1854, when he was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court.

In 1855 he was one of the delegates to the Judicial Convention held in Albany to nominate a candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court. In 1856 he was unanimously nominated by the Republican party of his county for the position of District Attorney; but the county being largely Democratic, he was defeated with the rest of the ticket, running, however, ahead of his associates in the towns where he was well known. In 1860 he canvassed for Lincoln and Hamlin in the State of New York, under appointment from the State Central Committee.

Mr. Porter continued to practice his profession until the spring of 1861, when he entered the Union army, serving in the First New York Mounted Rifles. In 1863, although a soldier, he was elected by the Union citizens of Norfolk, Virginia, Attorney for the Commonwealth for that city, to fill a vacancy, receiving all the votes cast except nine. He was then honorably discharged from the army in order to enter upon the duties of his office. In 1864 he was re-elected for the full term, and was also elected Corporation

Attorney for one year. He continued to discharge the duties of Commonwealth's Attorney for more than six years, to the entire satisfaction of the judges, bar, and people of Norfolk.

In 1864 a conflict arose between the loyal civil government of Norfolk and the military authorities of the United States. Mr. Porter indulged in some criticisms, which were reported in a highly exaggerated form to General Butler, who ordered his arrest. He has, however, been fully vindicated by General Butler on the floor of Congress and elsewhere from the charge of disloyalty, as connected with this contest, which at one time was so industriously circulated by some of his political enemies.

In May, 1865, Mr. Porter voted *viva voce*, as required by the laws of Virginia at that time, for candidates for the Legislature who were publicly pledged in favor of colored suffrage. Upon this the Select and Common Councils of the city undertook to prevent any compensation being paid to Mr. Porter for his services as Commonwealth's Attorney, and for a year succeeded. He at once sued out a writ of mandamus in the Circuit Court against the Councils, which twelve months afterward resulted in a decision in his favor from a judge who had presided over the circuit for thirty years. In June, 1866, Mr. Porter again voted openly for a candidate for the Legislature who was pledged to colored suffrage.

In August, 1866, he married Miss Mollie Bowden, only daughter of Hon. Lemuel J. Bowden, of Williamsburgh, Virginia, a distinguished lawyer, who took his seat as a Senator of the United States March 4, 1863, and died in the following January.

In August, 1867, Mr. Porter removed to Richmond, which has since been his residence. He soon after entered upon the canvass of the State in favor of the call for a State Convention to frame a Constitution as authorized by the reconstruction laws. He was appointed to this work by the Republican Congressional Committee at Washington, and was the only white Republican who canvassed Virginia during the campaign. A Richmond paper, in referring to this work, said, "Mr. Porter made an extensive canvass, and as brilliant as it was rapid, but he did his work well.

Wherever he spoke he consolidated the loyal vote in support of the Convention and the Republican ticket."

While engaged in this work Mr. Porter was nominated by the Republican party of Chesterfield and Powhatan Counties for a seat in the proposed Constitutional Convention, and was elected by a large majority. The Convention assembled at Richmond in December, 1867, and adjourned on the night of the 17th of April, 1868. He became immediately one of the most efficient and influential members of the body. He was Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and was a member of the Judiciary Committee. The reports drawn and presented by him as Chairman of the Committee on Elections were uniformly sustained by the Republican majority without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Porter sometimes found it necessary in the discharge of his duties to oppose reports of other committees. He offered the present twelfth article to the Constitution as a substitute for the report of the committee on the "Mode to Amend the Constitution." Their report had been unanimously agreed to in committee. Mr. Porter's substitute was carried by a large majority. He is known throughout Virginia as the author of the homestead provision of the new Constitution. This was also offered by him as a substitute for the report of the Judiciary Committee, which had been agreed to by all its members except Mr. Porter. The report of the committee was sustained by every Democrat and nearly all the leading Republicans, including the President of the Convention. After the most exciting contest of the session Mr. Porter's substitute was carried, and is now a part of the Constitution.

When the appropriate committee reported the "bill of rights" an additional section was moved, "That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within this State." Mr. Porter at once moved as a substitute, "That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as lawful imprisonment may constitute such, shall exist in the State," which, after discus-

sion, was adopted. Mr. Porter during the debate reminded the Convention that one or more of the courts of Maryland had, on their conviction by a jury, sentenced colored persons to be sold into slavery, and claimed the right to do so under the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, similar in phraseology to the proposition for which he offered his substitute.

It will be seen that Mr. Porter's substitute is not only an improvement upon the language of the Thirteenth Amendment, and similar language in the different State Constitutions abolishing slavery, and the Jeffersonian ordinance prohibiting it in the Northwestern Territory, but an improvement of a vital character, for these different antislavery clauses either authorize the reduction to slavery of persons duly convicted of crime, or afford a very good pretext for courts hostile to liberty to do so.

Mr. Porter is inseparably connected with the framing of Virginia's great Constitution in all its important features, a Constitution which Mr. Bingham pronounced on the floor of the House to be "the best in America."

Three weeks after the adjournment of the Convention Mr. Porter was nominated for Representative in Congress by the Republicans of the Richmond District, receiving a two thirds vote in a full convention on the first ballot. The election was to have taken place June 2, 1868, but was arbitrarily suspended by General Schofield, and did not take place until July 6, 1869. Mr. Porter had canvassed a considerable portion of his district previous to the issuing of the military order suspending the election, and then of course abandoned the canvass for the time being.

In May, 1869, the election for Congressional and State officers was appointed for the 6th of July. During the interval Mr. Porter canvassed the State in the interests of the Republican cause. He was the only white canvasser who advocated the adoption of the "test-oath and disfranchising clauses" of the new Constitution. His views were overwhelmingly sustained by the Republican party, 84,000 casting their ballots for these clauses in opposition to the policy advocated by nearly all the leading

Republicans. The election resulted in the success of Mr. Porter and some other Republicans, but the party generally was defeated in the State.

Mr. Porter was unanimously elected permanent President of the Virginia Republican Convention of November, 1869, in which the party of the State was fully represented. This Convention was called by the State Committee for the purpose of having the party determine what course they would recommend Congress to take in reference to the late election, which was alleged by Republicans generally to have been carried against them by intimidation, fraud, and violence, and in relation to the admission of the State to representation. The committee on the address and resolutions earnestly recommended to Congress the administering of the test-oath to the members of the Legislature. This address was adopted by a vote of 121 to 13. After this, and when all the work of the Convention had been accomplished except the appointment of the State Central Committee, the opponents of the address recommending the test-oath withdrew in a body from the Convention.

Mr. Porter laid the address before Congress upon its assembling in the following month, as instructed to do by the Convention. He failed in securing the object of the Convention, but his agitation for the test-oath resulted in other but weaker conditions being required by Congress, which preserved the loyal people of Virginia from the danger which would have attended the unconditional admission of the State.

Mr. Porter took his seat in Congress January 26, 1870, and was appointed on the Committee on Reconstruction. Among the important bills introduced by him was one allowing any bankrupt an exemption equivalent in value to that authorized by the Constitution or laws of his State in 1870, his immediate object being to secure to those availing themselves of the Bankrupt Act in Virginia the benefit of the \$2,000 exemption provided by the Constitution of the State.

He was one of the foremost in opposition to universal amnesty, unless accompanied by legislation protecting the rights of the loyal

people. He has, however, always been in favor of amnesty to those who accepted the political situation in good faith. He introduced a bill authorizing the trial of all causes originating in the late slave States in Federal courts, on affidavit of either party that he did not believe he could obtain justice in the State Courts on account of his color or the prejudice against him. Mr. Porter, with his Republican colleagues, voted steadily against the removal of the duty on foreign coal, while the five Democratic members from Virginia voted for the proposition which, if successful, would in his opinion have brought ruin upon the bituminous coal interests of his State. He frequently addressed the House on pending subjects of legislation. He delivered speeches on the Test Oath, Ku-klux Legislation, and on Revenue Frauds in Virginia.


In May, 1870, Mr. Porter's assassination was attempted on Broad-street, in the city of Richmond, and such was the unprovoked and murderous character of the assault that the House of Representatives imprisoned the would-be assassin for three months for this gross and malignant breach of the privileges of its members, being the first time since the foundation of the Government that a person has been imprisoned by Congress for an assault upon one of its members.

In August, 1870, Mr. Porter was renominated by acclamation for Congress in a full Republican Convention of his district, and was elected by 2,893 majority. The whole vote polled at this election for Mr. Porter and his opponent was 24,217, while the aggregate vote at his previous election was 31,398, and his party majority in the district at that time was less than 1,900, showing an increase in his majority of nearly 1,000, although the aggregate vote was reduced more than 7,000. While these votes indicate his standing in his own party, an equally honorable encomium comes from his political enemies, a leading opposition sheet, the "Richmond Daily Dispatch," of January 14, 1871, avowedly hostile to Mr. Porter, saying editorially of him, "We remember no accusation of culpability in the corruptions for money-making gotten up among officials and party rings."



Clarkson & Peller

CLARKSON N. POTTER.

 CLARKSON NOTT POTTER was born at Union College, near Schenectady, New York, in 1825. His father, the Rev. Alonzo Potter, who was subsequently Bishop of Pennsylvania, was then a Professor there. His mother was the only daughter of the Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, who was for sixty-three years the distinguished President of that College.

Clarkson was the eldest of ten children, and after graduating at Union College was sent to the Rensselaer Institute to study engineering. Leaving there when eighteen years of age, he went to Wisconsin as a surveyor. After remaining West some two years, during which time he occupied his leisure hours in reading law, he returned to Schenectady, finished his professional studies, and was admitted to the bar; shortly after which he removed to the city of New York, where he commenced practice in 1847.

He prosecuted his profession with diligence, and early acquired a very important and valuable practice. He took no active part in politics, and held no public office whatever, until elected to the Forty-first Congress from the district adjoining New York city on the north. In that Congress he served on the Committees of Commerce, Elections, and Private Land Claims, and was also one of the Sub-committee on Appropriations for Rivers and Harbors.

In Congress Mr. Potter opposed repudiation and any further increase of paper money; favored the abolition of the Franking Privilege, and introduced a measure for that purpose which the Post-Office Committee adopted and recommended to the House; urged the abolition of the present system of maintaining permanent diplomatic agents to represent this country abroad; was active in procuring an increase in judicial salaries; and advocated the repeal of the Income Tax, which, as levied, he thought especially unjust and demoralizing. He resisted the claim of the House of Repre-

sentatives to punish as a breach of the privileges of the House, assaults upon its members outside of the District of Columbia; and he earnestly opposed the granting of private charters by Congress, creating corporations to carry on business within the States, and all kindred private legislation; declaring that such legislation would unite upon Washington the corrupt influences, dangerous solicitations, and all the inducements to wicked legislation which would otherwise be distributed through the various State capitals, and thus bring about there a condition of things as much worse than that at any State capital as Congress is more powerful than the Legislature of any State.

Indeed, from the time he grew up, Mr. Potter had been a Democrat—not because he sympathized in the least with slavery, but because of his conviction that free government could only be maintained by limiting and localizing the power of government. He therefore regarded the reconstruction policy of the Government as unjust, unwise, and a dangerous step toward the centralization of power. His own views on these subjects were expressed in a speech on the admission of Virginia, from which we make the following extract:

Since this Government was established no party ever had such an opportunity as the Republican party. It had directed the forces with which the people had put down the Rebellion. It had thus absorbed the credit which belonged so largely to the Democratic masses in the rank and file of the army. It needed only to have treated the South with a wise magnanimity and generous confidence to have won their hearts and their devotion; to have saved the Union as it was and the Constitution as our fathers gave it; and to have wielded the control of the country by the willing votes of a majority of this whole people for the rest of this generation. But, pray, how is it now, sir? The South, outraged and distrustful, sullenly submits to what it cannot avoid, without confidence in the present or hope in the future. Congress constructs and reconstructs and again re-reconstructs; makes promises which it hesitates to keep, and after every performance imposes new and harder conditions—like Pharaoh, more unwilling each day to let the people go free; while instead of the Union of our fathers and that blessed Constitution under which these States were so long and so prosperously bound together, we have a system of consolidated and centralized government in which the States of the Union are being degraded to be provinces—to be henceforth, as the gentleman from Wisconsin declared, “little more than counties.”

Sir, if this is to be the result of the war, I submit that the war was hardly worth the having. If this is to be its result, then it succeeded neither in saving that for which the people fought, nor in giving us instead something better than that which we tried to save.

I know the gentleman from Wisconsin tells us that it will be for those who live after us to decide whether this consolidated and centralized Government is or is not better than the system of limited and localized government which our fathers established. Alas! I think that this can even now be decided. Every day, as it seems to me, now testifies to their wisdom and to our folly. Every day indicates how much better and happier the people were under their limited and localized system of government than under the consolidated and centralized system which is replacing it. The vast growth and natural advantages of the country have, indeed, made us richer and more powerful than ever before; but are we wiser, better, or happier than our fathers? Are the masses more content; are rights more secure; the laws more wisely framed or better administered; our country more respected for its virtues abroad or more cherished at home, than in the days of our fathers? Ah, sir, who of us does not realize the contrary? Throughout ten States of this Union the bayonet and the test-oath crush out the heart and the confidence of the people; while throughout the rest of the land speculation, extravagance, disregard of the rights of others, disrespect of law, and corruption prevail.

Mr. Potter was counsel in the case of *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, in which the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1868, first decided the Legal Tender Act to be unconstitutional, and was also heard at the same term in support of the validity of contracts payable specifically in coin, which the Court sustained. In these arguments he very earnestly maintained that Congress had no power to impair the obligations of contracts.

When the Legal Tender question was reconsidered by the Supreme Court at its last term Mr. Potter was again heard upon it. He felt very deeply the evils which, as he thought, must result from establishing the power of Congress to impair contracts between private citizens, and the demoralization which must ensue from maintaining, as a permanent measure of value, so uncertain and fluctuating a unit as an irredeemable promise to pay. He also deprecated the review by that Court of a great constitutional question, decided after mature deliberation, as destructive of the influence and value of that supreme tribunal, and regarded its action in these respects as constituting a real crisis in the history of the Government.

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WILLIAM P. PRICE.



WILLIAM P. PRICE is a native of Georgia, and was born in Lumpkin County of that State January 29, 1835. His father, who was a Virginian by birth, died when William was but four years of age. In his tenth year the boy at his own instance was put by his mother to the printer's trade, where he made excellent use of the education which he had already received. At fourteen he became foreman, and at sixteen was the publisher of his own paper.

In 1850 young Price removed to Greenville, South Carolina, where he continued the business of printing until, having accumulated a sufficient sum for the purpose, he entered the Furman University at Greenville, with the intention of completing a course of studies which, while engaged in printing, he had been diligently pursuing. Before accomplishing this undertaking, however, and in order to support those who were dependent on him, he left the University, and in 1854 established the *Greenville Enterprise*, a newspaper which has stood all vicissitudes, and is still a prominent journal in that State.

This newspaper was independent in politics so far as National or State parties were concerned, yet firm and unflinching in resisting all encroachments on the South, and what were considered the rights of the States. Entertaining such views, Mr. Price was among the first to espouse the cause of the South in the late struggle, and was one of the first of the soldiers mustered into the Confederate service in the State of Virginia. He participated with his regiment in the severe campaign which began at Fairfax Court-House and ended at the first Manassas. In the succeeding autumn, at Lewinsville, Virginia, he was badly wounded by the explosion of a bombshell during a severe skirmish; yet, though incapacitated for field service, he continued with the army until

the close of the war. In 1864 he was elected, principally by the soldiers of Greenville District, to a seat in the Legislature of South Carolina, and was re-elected in 1865. In 1866, resigning his seat, he removed to his former home in Georgia.

At the age of twenty-one Mr. Price had been admitted to the bar in Charleston, South Carolina, and began the practice of law in Greenville. In the following year he formed a partnership with Hon. J. L. Orr, then the Speaker of the National House of Representatives. This partnership was continued until 1866, when Colonel Orr was elected Governor of the State. In 1868, but two years after his return to Georgia, Mr. Price, by a larger vote than his own party could number, was elected to the Legislature of the State, and being a candidate for the Speakership was defeated by a single vote. Yet subsequently he was elected Speaker *pro tempore* by the unanimous vote of both parties. His course in the Legislature was eminently conservative, and he ranked among the leaders of the House. As a member of the General Assembly he was energetic and active, devoting himself assiduously to those measures which he deemed most likely to restore the State to the Union.

Although by nature and education a Democrat, yet as the war ceased Mr. Price fully appreciated the necessity of placing the Southern people in proper relations with the Federal Government. Says the *Atlanta Constitution*:

Being perfectly familiar with the sentiment of the dominant party in the United States, as evinced by their public journals, he never had any confidence in the permanency of the governments created by President Johnson in the South. He recognized the power of Congress to dictate the terms. His idea was that the Southern people had set up a government for themselves; that they were out of the Union; that they had been overpowered and conquered, and that it was necessary to reconstruct the States before they could be readmitted into the Union. While the reconstruction laws were distasteful to him, he nevertheless advised the people to accept them and make the most of them.

His disabilities having been removed, Mr. Price was elected a Representative from Georgia to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, and was sworn in, January 16, 1871.

WILLIAM F. PROSSER.

WILLIAM F. PROSSER was born at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, March 16, 1834. His early years were occupied in farm-work during the summer, in attendance upon the district school in winter, in studying law and teaching school until he was twenty years of age, when he emigrated by the overland route to California, and engaged in mining and other enterprises in the northern part of that State. In the years 1858-59 he served as lieutenant of a company of volunteers, called out to repress Indian hostilities on the northwestern coast of California. In the course of a winter campaign of extraordinary severity in the region of Humboldt Bay his successes were such while in command of a detachment of troops in that service as to elicit the warmest commendation from the State authorities. In the year 1860 he became the Republican candidate for the Legislature in Trinity County, and although he was the first candidate of that party for any office in that county, at that time largely Democratic, his energy in canvassing, together with his personal popularity, almost secured the election. Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861 he returned to the East for the purpose of entering the Union army, and enlisted as a private in what was known as the "Anderson Troop," an organization made up for special service in the West, and which was afterward merged in the 15th Pennsylvania cavalry. Shortly after the battle of Shiloh, while on the march from Corinth to Huntsville, he was captured by the enemy, paroled, and subsequently ordered to Annapolis, Md., for exchange. Being exchanged soon after, he was ordered to Carlisle to assist in the mounting and equipping of



W. F. Rosser,

the 13th Pennsylvania cavalry, and went with that regiment to Nashville, Tenn., arriving there in time to join the advance of General Rosecrans upon Murfreesborough, and to take an active part in that battle. A few days later he accepted the invitation of Andrew Johnson, then Military Governor of Tennessee, to assist in organizing and drilling the Second Tennessee Cavalry, and served as Major of that regiment during the following year, taking part in the battle of Chickamauga and many other engagements. In March, 1864, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, and in 1865 Colonel of the same regiment, and during those years was actively and constantly employed in Tennessee, North Alabama, and Mississippi, being in command either of the regiment or of a brigade of Tennessee troops. During the fall of 1864 he was assigned to the command of the cavalry in the District of North Alabama, and in the course of that campaign had numerous engagements with the cavalry of the enemy under Forrest, Wheeler, and others. After Sherman commenced his "march to the sea" through Georgia, Hood advanced through North Alabama with the Rebel army, intending to pass into Tennessee and capture Nashville. Coming suddenly upon Decatur, an important point on the Tennessee River, he was met a short distance outside of the place by the cavalry under Colonel Prosser, which engaged the rebel forces so vigorously as to detain them for an entire day, during which time the fortifications of Decatur were put in order, reinforcements were introduced, and the place put in such an efficient condition of defense that Hood, although he remained before it for some days, found its capture impracticable. This defense of Decatur occasioned a loss of three weeks' time to Hood, gave General Thomas an opportunity of collecting his scattered forces, and resulted in preventing Nashville from falling into the hands of the enemy.


Having been mustered out of service with his regiment in July, 1865, Colonel Prosser purchased a farm in the vicinity of Nashville and engaged in its cultivation. In August, 1867, he was elected a member of the Legislature for Davidson County (which

includes the city of Nashville) by the Republican party, and served in that capacity during three subsequent sessions. He took a prominent part in all its deliberations, serving as Chairman of the Committee on Finance, Ways and Means—where he labored successfully to restore the credit of the State, and to secure an economical administration—and also much of the time as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. While acting in the latter capacity in 1868 he was instrumental in preserving the peace of the State at a critical period by bringing about and conducting certain conferences with a number of leading ex-Confederate generals, which resulted in a better understanding between the loyal and disloyal elements of the State of Tennessee, then upon the verge of open hostilities and civil war. He was active in assisting to mature the system of common schools, which was adopted by the same Legislature. During its last session he was elected, and served for some weeks, as Speaker *pro tem.*, pending the investigation of certain charges against the Speaker of the House of Representatives. In December, 1867, he was elected one of the Directors of the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company. In March, 1868, he was appointed one of the Directors on the part of the State for the Edgefield and Kentucky Railroad. In November of the same year he was elected a Representative from Tennessee to the Forty-first Congress. In that body he served on the Committees on Railways and Canals, on Revolutionary Claims, and on Printing, where he was known as an efficient and industrious member. He labored to promote the interests of his district in a variety of ways, among others securing the survey and improvement of the Cumberland River. On the 25th of January, 1870, he delivered a speech on the subject of education which attracted the attention and commendation of leading and thoughtful men throughout the country, and was extensively circulated in both the English and German languages; also on the 17th of February, 1871, he followed with another on the same subject. At the close of his term of service in Congress Mr. Prosser was appointed Postmaster at Nashville, Tennessee.



A. H. Murray

JOSEPH H. RAINEY.

 JOSEPH H. RAINEY, the first colored man admitted to a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States, was born in Georgetown, South Carolina, June 29, 1832. His father and mother were both originally slaves, who obtained their freedom by purchase through the avails of their own industry and economy. His father was a barber, and for many years supported a large family by diligently pursuing his trade. Young Rainey, being about his father's shop, naturally acquired familiarity with the business, which he pursued for more than ten years.

He never attended a regular school, being deprived of all public facilities for education by the laws, which made it a criminal offense to teach colored children the merest rudiments of learning. He had, however, a strong thirst for knowledge, which prompted him to seek private means of obtaining a common English education.

He resided in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1846 to 1862. He married in Philadelphia in 1859, and took his wife South amid the excitement resulting from John Brown's raid. He was threatened with imprisonment for violating the law in leaving the State and returning. His friends, however, interposed, and prevented the execution of the purposes of his enemies. The war having broken out, free persons of color were required by the Confederates to assist in throwing up earth-works in the vicinity of Charleston. Mr. Rainey was compelled to work on the intrenchments, and performed the labor with great reluctance, having no interests in common with those whom he was thus compelled to serve. On the first opportunity he left Charleston for the West Indies, where he remained until 1866, when he returned to South Carolina, and made his residence in his native county.

Soon after his return he engaged in mercantile pursuits. It was not long, however, before he was called by the people to public employment. He was elected a Delegate to the State Convention of 1867-68, and took a prominent part in its deliberations. Subsequently he was elected a State Senator for the term of four years, and served as Chairman of the Finance Committee. In July, 1870, he was nominated as a candidate for Representative from South Carolina in the Forty-first Congress to fill the vacancy occasioned by the non-reception of Hon. B. F. Whittemore. During the canvass Mr. Rainey made a speech at Greenville in August, 1870, from the report of which in the *Charleston Republican*, we make the following extracts:

While the "Reform" party was traveling all over the State saying they were going to give the colored men all their rights, and bacon, corn, and all such things, they had no rights to give. No man in this country has any more than his own rights. No man can trespass upon the rights of another. The law of the land has given you your rights. The speaker, in illustration of the good promises of the "Reformers," related the story of two negroes in their canoes caught in a terrible storm, and one crying, "O Lord, save me, and I will give you a potato as big as the house." When asked by his companion where he would get the potato, in reply he told him to hush, he was only trying to fool the Lord. So here the "Reformers" have not any thing to give, and if any body trusted them they would find they had been badly fooled. . . .

These "Reformers" don't want you to have your own farms, grow your own wheat and ryé. They want you to continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But you will never be men until you have houses of your own. When you work for these men on shares, just as the crop is matured they send a man off to starve, or, in settling accounts, a poor fellow finds himself charged two dollars a bushel for corn that never cost more than one dollar and thirty cents. The true object of the Legislature was to so arrange it that you might get lands. We want you to live here and to die here, and that your wives and children shall have land whereon to get their bread. Nothing so alarms some of these old land-owners as the prospect of some negro moving next door to him and living there. There is no consistency in this when we remember how in old times some of the old mammas used to give them suck, and now they are so afraid to have dark people live alongside of them. You must make your power so felt at the ballot-box that these wrongs will pass away, and your rights be forever asserted.

Mr. Rainey was elected by a majority of 17,193 votes, and taking his seat in the House of Representatives December 12, 1870, he was appointed on the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs.



Sam. Randall

HON. SAMUEL J. RANDALL

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Randall served during the Forty-first Congress on the Committee on Elections, the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, and the Joint Committee on Retrenchment.

On the 16th of December, 1869, after Mr. Mungen had delivered his speech on Repudiation, Mr. Randall briefly expressed his views as follows :

In the time allowed me it is hardly possible that I should follow the gentleman from Ohio in all his sayings, or what I might mildly term his political heresies ; but for myself—and I think I can speak for my constituents—I am utterly opposed to repudiation. But the moment allowed me gives me the opportunity to remonstrate against the enunciation of any scheme of legislation which I believe would place my country in a dishonest attitude before the world. Not only do I believe that we should pay the debt, but I believe, what is of vastly more importance, that the country has the ability, the disposition, and the resources to pay it.

I agree with the gentleman from Ohio that the debt was negotiated at ruinous rates. That is a matter of just criticism against the party who then controlled the Government and made the negotiation. But as regards those who hold bonds upon which is stamped the faith and credit of the country, I say repudiation stands in no other light except the light of dishonesty. In saying this I but repeat what I have said before my constituents. But, sir, I do not apprehend half the danger from speeches such as that of the gentleman from Ohio that I do from the extravagance, from the corruption, from the undue and unequal taxation which has been placed upon the statute-book by the majority of this House. I have a vast deal more apprehension of the growth of the spirit of repudiation from that cause. Again, the same thing is to be apprehended when the majority stand up here and defend one of the most crushing, one of the most wasteful monopolies—the banking interest of this country.

On a subsequent occasion Mr. Randall gave his opinions on the Currency, as follows :

I maintain that the greenback is the better circulation of the two. Men who have to choose between parting with greenbacks and parting with national bank-notes, pay our national bank-notes rather than greenbacks, because the greenbacks are used for the redemption of the national bank-notes in case the national banks should fail. In my judgment, if we are to have a circulation it should be a circulation of greenbacks instead of a circulation of national bank-notes, because the greenbacks will not require the Government to pay double interest ; that is to say, the Government shall not be required to extend to the banks the privilege of furnishing the entire amount of circulation required by the people, and pay interest upon the bonds required to be deposited to secure that circulation, as well as to afford to the banks the privilege of making money out of the monopoly of the circulation.

HENRY A. REEVES.



HENRY A. REEVES was born at Sag Harbor, Suffolk County, N. Y., December 7, 1832. He is descended on the father's side from an old English family that was among the earliest settlers on Long Island, and on the mother's side from a German Jew named Jacobs, who came from Hamburg, and located in Southampton early in the present century.

He received instruction preparatory for college at the Sag Harbor Academy, where he won credit as the best scholar of his class. He subsequently studied three years at the University of Michigan, and graduated at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1852. He read law with Judge Hedges at Sag Harbor, and was admitted to the bar at Brooklyn in October, 1857. He intended to settle in Wisconsin, and there practice his profession; but while on the way to that State, his steps were arrested and turned homeward by the serious illness of his father. After some months spent in closing up the affairs of his father's estate he purchased the *Republican Watchman* newspaper establishment, a paper published at Greenport, and one of the oldest journals in Suffolk County, being then in its thirty-fourth year. Of this paper he is still the editor and proprietor.

On the third of September, 1861, as Mr. Reeves was in the act of purchasing, at the Hudson River Railroad depot in New York, the ticket intended to convey him to Syracuse, where on the following day he was expected to discharge the duties of delegate to the Democratic State Convention, he was arrested by two Deputy United States Marshals, acting under authority of a telegram from Secretary Seward, giving orders to "arrest the editor of the *Republican Watchman* and convey him to Fort La Fayette." Mr.



Henry A. Reeves


Reeves was placed in a carriage and driven to Fort Hamilton, where he was lodged over night in the gun-room. Early on the day following he was transferred to Fort La Fayette, and confined in a casemate with eight or nine other gentlemen. Mr. Reeves and his friends wrote repeatedly to Secretary Seward, asking if any charges were lodged against him in the State Department or any of the other departments, but he never received an answer. The editor of the *Watchman* was detained in confinement for nearly five weeks, when he was released without trial, examination, or inquiry, simply on taking an extrajudicial oath, and giving a parole to "do no act prejudicial to the Union."

Mr. Reeves never held public office until he was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress from New York as a Democrat, receiving 13,338 votes against 11,945 for Wood, Republican. Taking his seat in the House of Representatives March 4, 1869, Mr. Reeves served on the Committee on Agriculture, and the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department. The following is an extract from a speech of Mr. Reeves against the taxing of incomes :

I know that he who avows devotion to the fundamental source of all power in a free government, the will of the people embodied in a written Constitution, is too apt to be stigmatized as obstructive, unprogressive, old-fogyish, or by still harsher terms; that partisan malevolence even sees "disloyalty" in a text, and "treason" in a paragraph, from the grand gospel of our American freedom. Be it so.

I gladly accept the odium, and proudly wear the brand which attaches to the unwavering few who still uplift the banner of "the Constitution as it was;" the integrity of the Union which our fathers established, and which, administered in the spirit of its authors, for seventy years poured manifold blessings upon all the people; the sovereignty of the States as the creators of the new political system then established, which, allowed to distribute harmoniously its beneficent influences, expanded the few and feeble members of the Confederacy into the august proportions of a mighty Republic of republics; the supremacy and undivided rule of the superior white race; in fine, all the glorious truths of the earlier and purer days of American Democracy, before "new lights" had risen to shed their baleful glare over a land till then united, free, and happy; before sectional passions had been organized to do their devil's work of alienation and distrust; before fanaticism and folly had combined to rend asunder the silken cords of fraternal affection and mutual esteem which held us together with bands infinitely stronger than "hooks of steel."

ROBERT RIDGWAY.

OBERT RIDGWAY, Representative from the Fifth Congressional District of Virginia, was born in 1822, and died at his home on Sunday, October 16, 1870, after a long and painful illness.

“Mr. Ridgway completed his education at Emory and Henry College, in Roanoke County, Virginia; afterward studied law, and took charge of the *Bedford Sentinel*. He was an uncompromising Whig of the Henry Clay school, and was devotedly attached to that great American statesman. In 1853 he became editor of the *Richmond Whig*, and during all the time of his connection with that paper his editorials show that he was a worthy successor to John Hampden Pleasants, much of whose fire and popular qualities he possessed.

“At the breaking out of the Rebellion against the Union, Mr. Ridgway, being opposed to the course of the State, and differing with the proprietors of that paper in the course they should pursue, retired from the editorial chair and returned to his home in Amherst, where he remained during the war. After the close of hostilities he was again invited to resume his editorial connection with that journal, which he did until he became a candidate for Congress in 1865, when he was elected, but as the reconstruction measures were not completed he did not get his seat. He was again elected in July, 1869, as the conservative candidate from the Amherst district; but his health was very delicate, and before the adjournment he found it necessary to ask for an indefinite leave of absence to seek rest and quiet. But the fiat had gone forth; he was no more to return to these Halls. He passed away peacefully and quietly in the forty-eighth year of his age.”—*Speech of Hon. Lewis M'Kenzie in the House of Representatives.*

ANTHONY A. C. ROGERS.



ANTHONY A. C. ROGERS was born in Sumner County, Tennessee, February 14, 1821. He received a limited education in a country school, and was then employed in a dry-goods store until the age of twenty-two, since which time he has been largely engaged in mercantile pursuits, being one of the most prosperous merchants in the Southwest. He emigrated to Arkansas in 1854, and in 1861 was the candidate of the Union men for Delegate to the State Convention, where he earnestly opposed secession. He was arrested for his loyalty to the United States, imprisoned, and forced to give bonds to answer the charge of "treason against the Confederate Government." He was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress in 1864 by the loyal men of his district, but was not permitted to take his seat, his State not having been legally reconstructed. He was elected to the Forty-first Congress as the "people's candidate," although he had been for years identified with the Republican party.

Taking his seat as a Representative from Arkansas, Mr. Rogers was appointed on the Committee on Education and Labor. He distinguished himself by his opposition to the employment of female clerks in the Departments. Pending the consideration of the Civil Appropriation Bill, he said :

It is in my judgment degrading to the people of this country that we should have congregated here year after year, around this Hall and in our lobbies, a parcel of women, hired, it is pretended, for the purposes of the Government, but in many instances, I believe, for other purposes altogether. . . . This thing to my mind is all wrong. It grew up, as I am told, during the war, when we needed men in the field, and it was necessary at the same time to have some parties here in the public offices. This system of female clerks was then introduced. It served the purpose well for a time, but we are now on a peace footing, and I insist that all these irregularities which grew up during the war shall be cut off, and that we shall return to the principles of government which were introduced by our fathers and practiced by them.

LOGAN H. ROOTS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Roots was a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad and the Committee on Mines and Mining. Being for some time the only Representative from the Southern States on the Pacific Railroad Committee, and possessing recognized ability and untiring perseverance, upon him devolved a large share of the work of preparing the Southern Pacific Railroad legislation. It was he who first introduced in the House the "Texas Pacific Railroad Bill," which was, with but very slight modifications, the one that became a law granting aid to the great National Railroad near the line of the thirty-second parallel.

While not forgetting his duty to the whole country, he strove most earnestly to be of practical benefit to the people in his own section. His popular ways and assiduous labor proved very successful in obtaining legislation of special importance to the people of his own State, securing liberal assistance for their railroads in the way of renewal of land-grants, procuring for the first time liberal appropriations for the improvement of their rivers, and having a new United States judicial district created to hold court at Helena, Arkansas.


Mr. Roots introduced, and was active in securing, the passage of an act of much importance to the country, establishing water gauges upon the Mississippi River and tributaries. The principal object in establishing the gauges is to get reliable reports of the stage of water at each locality for every day in the year, in order to secure the requisite data for determining with exactness the necessary heights of levees, and facilitate accurate calculation as to the approach of inundations, and to establish principles, the application of which is to protect the rich alluvial lands from overflow. This matter met the hearty approval of the War Department. General Humphries, Chief Engineer, has already established stations and appointed the officers required by the act.

Mr. Roots secured the incorporation, in a bill providing for the better security of life upon vessels propelled wholly or in part by steam, of the provision requiring that all such vessels should have on board an automatic steam indicator or gauge.



Septim Sanzini

STEPHEN SANFORD.

TEPHEN SANFORD was born in Montgomery County, New York, in 1826. His father, a gentleman of rare business capacity and sagacious judgment, was a representative in Congress from the same district in 1841-42, and was also in the Senate of the State.

Mr. Sanford, after having received the benefits of a good academic education, was appointed a cadet at the West Point Military Academy. He did not, however, remain long at that institution, as the course of study was not congenial to his tastes, nor could his ambition be satisfied with the then prospect of the idle life of a soldier. His mind was bent on the study of mechanics and the arts, and on carving out for himself his own career. In this direction he turned every energy. Not satisfied with living upon the accumulated wealth of his father, who had become a successful manufacturer of carpets in Amsterdam, New York, he desired to be associated with him in his labors. He had made himself theoretically familiar with the chemistry of the dyes and the mechanical manipulations necessary in the manufacture of carpets, but this was not enough for him; he must go further. Recognizing the fact that he who engages in the manufacture of a product should know more of its processes than the subordinates he employs, he took his term of apprenticeship and service at every branch of his business; so that when at last he assumed the responsibility of the management of the large establishment of his father it could be safely said of him that he could build the factory, adjust the power, set up the machinery, invent and construct the looms, spin the wools and dye them, design the patterns, set up the web, work the fabric and pack it for market. And in every branch of the minute detail of this extensive business it is admitted that he is an expert.

To attain to such a degree of perfection in his business few can appreciate the patience, courage, and indefatigable labor necessary, and which could only be sustained by that loftiness of purpose which has carried him on to the elevated position which he has now attained. While apparently absorbed in the pursuit of his chosen vocation he found time for æsthetic culture. His large and well-selected library and collection of works of art fully attest that he has not only "labored in his vocation," but history, poetry, literature, and the arts have been to him delightful study and familiar companionship.

His popularity with his employes is very great. Having labored with them and beside them, he knows how weary is their toil, and how hard sometimes are their struggles. His kind and sympathizing nature is ever ready to lend a helping hand to all, and the faithful and industrious workingman has always found him his friend. As proof of his popularity with the working classes might be mentioned the incident of the joyous reception which was given him by his operatives on his return from Europe in the year 1867, after an absence of some months. They gathered together in one of the public halls of the village, and with music and speeches and long-continued cheers gave him public greeting on his safe return.

In 1868 Mr. Sanford was elected a Representative from New York to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and was appointed on the Committees on Manufactures, Patents, and Ventilation. His votes were given intelligently, and were marked by that same conscientiousness, integrity, and soundness of judgment which distinguished his previous career in life. Nothing transpired in the House which was not carefully considered by him before recording his vote. Liberal, progressive, and expansive in his ideas, he did not permit himself to be cramped by narrow-minded views of public expenditures whenever he was satisfied that they might result in some development of the great resources of the nation, or in extending its power and influence.

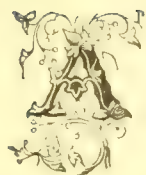


A. A. Sargent.

MR. ARON A. SARGENT

REPRESENTATIVE FROM VERMONT

AARON A. SARGENT.



AARON A. SARGENT was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, September 28, 1827. When a boy he entered a printing-office, where he not only acquired a trade, but made proficiency in the elements of education. After learning his trade he entered actively into journalism, and was for several years a reporter in Congress. In 1849 he emigrated to California, where he studied law, and came to the Bar in 1854. He held the office of District-Attorney of Nevada County from 1855 to 1857. In politics Mr. Sargent was a Whig until 1856, when he became a Republican. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency. He was nominated for Attorney-General of California, but was defeated with the rest of the ticket.

In 1861 he was elected a Representative from California to the Thirty-seventh Congress, during which he served as a member of the Select Committee on the Pacific Railroad, to which enterprise he was particularly devoted. On the 23d of May, 1862, he delivered in the House of Representatives an able speech on the confiscation of rebel property, which attracted attention as a presentation of just and reasonable views on this subject. In his speeches of January 31 and April 9, 1862, he advocated the Pacific Railroad as a military necessity. He paid a glowing tribute to the memory of the lamented Edward D. Baker, who fell in the Ball's Bluff disaster, his intimate acquaintance with the deceased Senator enabling him to delineate his character with peculiar faithfulness.

In 1869 Mr. Sargent was elected to the Forty-first Congress, during which he served on the Committee on Mines and Mining and the Committee on Appropriations. Early in the first session he addressed the House on the reconstruction of Mississippi, presenting a comprehensive review of the work of congressional

reconstruction so far as then accomplished. He opposed the bill "to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," under which it was proposed, as he asserted, that "the Government shall make one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per year by granting a monopoly to three or four persons, which will be worth nearly one million dollars a year." On the 5th of February, 1870, Mr. Sargent delivered a speech on "The Record of the Democratic Party," of which the following are the closing paragraphs :

The history of the Democratic party ! It is a record of treason and blood at the South, of obstruction and malignity at the North. At the South its members hurled armed legions against a flag which had never waved over them save in protection and kindness. At the North they discouraged enlistments, and resisted drafts, and depreciated credit, and cried out for peace even at the price of national dismemberment. They derided and insulted those who honestly fought for the country ; they encouraged and applauded those whose treachery, incompetency, or faintheartedness precipitated disaster upon the armies of the Republic ; they denounced Grant, and cheered McClellan ; they cried out against Sherman, and eulogized Fitz John Porter ; they abused the loyalists of the South, and found perennial comfort in the attitude of Kentucky ; they gave nothing voluntarily to the Federal Treasury ; they contributed sparingly, or not at all, to funds for the relief of our wounded soldiers. Even those who professed devotion to the Union were opposed to all stringent measures to preserve the Union. Those who favored the war were opposed to bloodshed. They denounced Lincoln as a tyrant and usurper, and their most widely-circulated journal placed Wilkes Booth on their list of martyrs.

If the Republic could have been preserved without coercing the South ; if the flag could have been triumphant without invading the sacred soil ; if freedom could have been assured without enfranchising a slave ; if the Treasury could have been filled without levying a tax ; if armies could have been recruited without men, and victories gained without battle ; then, perhaps, would Democratic policy have made us as great, as united, as free, as powerful, and as victorious as we are to-day. As it is, the Democracy made their own record, and from that record they cannot escape by *post-mortem* repentance and loud-voiced protestations of innocence after judgment. Wherever a convention resolved that the war was a failure it was a Democratic convention ; wherever men conspired to resist the draft, wherever a plot was laid to infect a city or destroy its public works, there was a Democratic meeting. I do not mean to say that thousands upon thousands of brave, true Democrats did not enlist and fight and sacrifice and die for the good cause. I do not mean to say that there may not now be here and there in the Democratic party loyal, freedom-loving, patriotic men. But I do mean to say that the party, as a party, is identified beyond the possibility of doubt with the great crime that so nearly murdered the American nation.

PHILETUS SAWYER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Sawyer continued to serve on the Committee on Manufactures and the Committee on Commerce. In the latter he was Chairman of the Sub-committee on Rivers and Harbors. In this capacity he originated and reported all the House bills relating to river and harbor improvements during the Forty-first Congress.

Mr. Sawyer's own district has a large water front on Lake Michigan and Green Bay, and consequently important commercial interests. Mr. Sawyer's position in the House has of course been of great advantage to his district in the way of procuring government aid for improving its harbors. At the same time he has been too much of a statesman to allow his interest in his own locality to prevent a due appreciation of the wants of other sections.

The legislation of the Forty-first Congress relating to the important department of public improvement, in which he was most concerned, was characterized by due liberality with wise economy. Our vast line of eastern and western seaboard, our extensive Gulf coast, and almost measureless inland lake shores, contain harbors which opened their almost numberless mouths for the assistance of the Government. Our vast river system, affording facilities for inland commerce possessed by no other nation on the globe, called for liberal appropriations to allow trade and travel a safe and unobstructed flow. To take in such a vast subject of legislation of course required a mind of no ordinary comprehensiveness. The people of each locality regarded their own river or harbor as most worthy to receive Government appropriation, hence wise discrimination was necessary in determining where the limited amount should be bestowed and where withheld. The House had entire confidence that this discrimination and that comprehensiveness were possessed by the Chairman of the Sub-committee on Rivers and Harbors, for although he never made a speech to advocate measures which he proposed, few of them ever failed to pass with little opposition. So much confidence was yielded to his judgment that he was never called upon to give a public statement of the reasons by which he arrived at his conclusions.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Schenck was continued in the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means. A few days after the opening of the first session he introduced a bill "to strengthen the public credit," pledging the faith of the United States to "the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money, or other currency than gold and silver." The bill passed the House by a vote of 98 yeas to 47 nays.

On the 26th of March, 1870, Mr. Schenck addressed the House on the Tenure-of-Office Law, defining his position as follows:

The "Chicago Tribune," I observe, speaks of the people in and about Washington, in and out of office, as being now divided into two parties--of "the repealers" and "the suspenders;" and I did remark to my colleague, as I now admit to the House, that I never belonged to either, but from the beginning of the agitation of this question in the present Congress have been an "amender." I would have done that long before this if I had the opportunity, for at the very time when there was sprung upon the House a repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Act, and carried through without an opportunity to amend or debate it, I had in my drawer a bill which I intended presenting for the discussion, consideration, and action of the House, looking to an amendment of that law. . . .

I am in favor of an amendment, because I believe there is embodied in this law a sound and wholesome constitutional principle that ought to be vindicated by us and retained upon the statute-book.

On the 7th of April, 1869, Mr. Schenck spoke in favor of postponing the further consideration of the reconstruction of Georgia until the next session of Congress. On the bill to amend the judicial system of the United States Mr. Schenck said:

I do not admit the proposition that a man's usefulness ceases when he reaches the age of seventy years. I believe more men rust out than wear out; that the more the mind is kept employed the brighter it is apt to be. There are exceptional cases. I do not think an arbitrary rule of age is the best of rules; but I would fix seventy years as the limit beyond which there might be permission to resign.

Pending a resolution instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire whether the retrocession of the County of Alexandria to the State of Virginia was unconstitutional and void, he said:

I only wish to say a word on this subject, because I am perhaps the only survivor in this House of those who voted on the question of retrocession some

twenty-five years ago. For what appeared to the majority of us sufficiently good reason then, we gave back to Virginia, as we thought we had the constitutional right to do—for I was in that majority—all that portion of the District of Columbia lying on the other side of the Potomac, and thus got rid of a great deal of vexatious legislation, action on which in no way affected the public interest, while it occupied much of the time of Congress.


Mr. Schenck's great work in this Congress was the perfecting in the Committee of Ways and Means, and carrying through the House, the Tax Bill—an immense labor, which he performed to the satisfaction of the great majority in Congress and the country. In his speech of March 31, 1870, closing the debate on his bill, Mr. Schenck gave expression to the difficulties which had been met by the Committee in their labors. He pronounced free trade a "myth," a "fancy," and added :

Give up a tariff, give up discrimination, adopt this scheme of equal, horizontal, direct taxation dreamed of and hoped for by my worthy colleague, and milk, which costs about the same to produce it as whisky, would be taxed the same as whisky, and potatoes would be charged the same as tobacco. Now, sir, I object to all that. I am for discriminations in our internal taxation, with reference to which it is not proper that I should speak now; and I am equally for discriminations in the charges made in the shape of duties upon articles brought in from abroad.

Mr. Schenck was a candidate for re-election, but owing to divisions among the Republicans of his district he was defeated by a majority of 53 votes. He was subsequently nominated and confirmed as United States Minister to England, but previous to his departure he was designated to serve as a member of the Joint High Commission to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain for the settlement of the Alabama Claims. Having performed the duties of this responsible position, Mr. Schenck departed for his post of duty in England. At a banquet given in London, July 14, 1871, Mr. Schenck, being called on for a speech, thus alluded to his work as a member of the Joint High Commission :

It has been my good fortune to have helped to propose an arbitration which I trust is to settle all differences which may have arisen between us. I esteem it one of the proudest acts of my life—to be looked upon hereafter with more self-complacency than any other act, political or otherwise, in which I was ever engaged—that I was one of the Joint High Commission to establish for ratification, with the satisfaction of afterward seeing it ratified by both countries, the late Treaty of Washington.

JOHN G. SCHUMAKER.

OHN G. SCHUMAKER was born of German parentage at Claverack, Columbia County, New York, June 27, 1826; received an academic education at home and in Lenox, Massachusetts; studied law, and came to the Bar in 1847.

In 1853 he settled in Brooklyn, where he practiced his profession. In 1856 he was elected District-Attorney for Kings County, and in 1862 he was elected Corporation Counsel for the city of Brooklyn. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention of 1864, and was a member of the State Constitutional Conventions of 1862 and 1867. As a Democrat he was elected a Representative from New York to the Forty-first Congress, in which he served on the Committee on the Ninth Census.

On the 2d of June, 1870, Mr. Schumaker made a speech on the bill to revive the navigation and commercial interests of the United States, in which he made some interesting statements:

The tariff upon copper, or rather the bill known as the Copper-Tariff Bill, has been more injurious to the ship-building interest of this country than all other causes combined. The tariff upon iron, and the other tariffs which taxed heavily all the articles from which ships were constructed, sufficiently crippled and stagnated such industry, but the immense duty upon copper completely broke up the ship-yards and drove capital and capitalists elsewhere to seek investments. The city of Brooklyn before the war contained more ship-yards and employed more mechanics and laborers than any other city of the United States. More than two miles of its water-front contained ship-yards, and some twenty-five firms, with an aggregate capital of over fifty millions of money, were engaged in that branch of business.

The Erie basin in South Brooklyn contained one of the largest dry-docks in the world, costing \$1,000,000. That dry-dock now stands idle, having taken up but two ships since the 1st of January last. Thousands of laborers who obtained work at such places are now out of employment. . . . Yards and docks in which large sums of money had been expended were to be found at the foot of most every street; but the tariffs upon material for building ships, together with the duties upon all the articles which the mechanics and laborers were compelled to buy in order to live and to clothe themselves and families, were so enormous and oppressive that they were compelled to demand higher wages, and these two causes together have completely paralyzed the trade.

GLENNI W. SCOFIELD.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Scofield served as Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the Forty-first Congress. Speaking on the bill to transfer the Navy Yard from Philadelphia to League Island, Mr. Scofield replied to the charges of Mr. Dawes of extravagance against the administration of President Grant :

But my friend does not content himself with only two victims of "faithful wounds." "While the glow is on him" he calls the whole administration to account. Last year President Johnson made estimates of the amounts which he thought would be sufficient for his successor, General Grant. They were his last will and testament. Wasteful as his own administration had been, he determined to entail a rigid economy upon his successor. The gentleman has been adding up these estimates. He makes them amount to \$303,000,000. But he has made a mistake. He has left out \$17,800,000 of the estimates for the Post-Office Department. When this omitted item is included the sum is \$320,800,000. Mr. Johnson spent a good deal more than this himself, but he thought this sum would do for General Grant.

Very well, sir ; General Grant has not only got along with this sum, but a good deal less, and, with a reduced rate of taxation, has already paid nearly eighty-one million dollars of the public debt. But the gentleman further says that General Grant now asks for more than Mr. Johnson thought he should have. He says the estimates for this year amount to \$331,000,000. Here is another error. The estimates for this year are a trifle over three hundred and nineteen million dollars. The increased sum is made by footing the estimate for the Post-Office Department \$11,700,000 more than it really is. When this correction is made it appears that the whole estimates for this year are considerably smaller than they were last. But this is not all. About six million dollars of the estimates for this year go to pay interest due the sinking fund, which interest is used to purchase more bonds for the same fund. This is no part of the current expenses. It should be deducted from the estimates. It will thus be seen that the Johnson estimates exceed those of General Grant by seven or eight million dollars. The gentleman from Massachusetts had it \$28,000,000 the other way.

On the bill to admit Virginia to representation, Mr. Scofield remarked :

Mr. Speaker, this new Constitution of Virginia has very wisely provided for equal franchise and equal education in that Commonwealth. When we come to admit the State under the new Constitution the Committee on Reconstruction recommend that Congress shall say to the people of Virginia who have adopted those provisions in their Constitution that we admit the State with the earnest expectation—I believe the language is even stronger than that—we admit the State with the qualification that it shall not go back upon those just provisions of its Constitution immediately after its admission.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Shanks was Chairman of the Committee on the Militia, and a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs and on Freedmen's Affairs. Offering an amendment to a bill reported by Mr. Logan, to provide for furnishing artificial limbs to disabled soldiers, Mr. Shanks presented the following interesting facts :

I have obtained from the Commissioner of Pensions a statement showing the number of persons who would be entitled to receive assistance under my substitute. There are 5,006 who have lost one arm, 33 have lost both arms, 4,627 have lost one leg, 42 have lost both legs, 21 have lost an arm and a leg, 2,516 have been afflicted with hernia, caused by service in the army, making a total of 12,245 persons who would be recipients under the substitute I have offered. I have offered this substitute from the Committee on the Militia for the bill reported from the Committee on Military Affairs for this reason especially. It will be recollected by the House that since the close of the war the War Department furnished artificial limbs to soldiers. It has not yet been five years, still you can hardly find in this country any person who now has an artificial limb so furnished to him. There is in the bill a proposition to pay these soldiers in money, which would be well enough, but I think that is not what the Government desires. I think what the Government should desire to do is to place these persons as nearly as possible in the condition they were in before the war, at least to furnish them whenever necessary with artificial limbs free of expense.

During the discussion of the bill to reduce the number of officers in the army Mr. Shanks submitted the following significant interrogatories :

I would like to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania whether he thinks it is any more unjust to muster out these officers than to muster out the colonels and captains and lieutenants who periled their lives bravely upon many a stricken battle-field in behalf of the people? We mustered out all those officers because the country did not need their services any further, and I have heard no good reason advanced why we should retain these officers when their services are no longer needed. Why did not the gentleman manifest his opposition when it was proposed to muster out all those subordinate officers? Why did he not manifest his affection then for those who served the country?

As a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs Mr. Shanks prepared a very elaborate report on the "Cherokee Neutral Lands in Kansas." This report embraces some fifty pages of printed matter, and fully sets forth the history of the title to the Cherokee

Neutral Lands, and their "illegal and unjustifiable" transfer, to the prejudice of the interests of the United States and numerous settlers upon the lands. One of the most important conclusions arrived at in this report was that Congress "possesses the sole power to dispose of the public lands," which is fully developed in the following extract :

Under monarchical governments concerned in discoveries in America such tracts of the country as the different nations laid claim to were held as the "property of the Crown." Grants or sales made by the Crown to other nations or to individuals passed the absolute title to the soil. In some cases, however, the title was retained in the Crown, and large tracts were leased by the Crown to companies or to private persons, as in the case of Georgia and some others.


But under our republican form of government "the territory and other property belonging to the United States" is practically the property of the people. The Congress has from the foundation of our Government been regarded by the people as the guardian of the political and personal rights of the people, and as the custodian of the material interests of the nation. The framers of the Constitution, and the Conventions whose votes made it the fundamental law of the land, carefully provided (article 1, section 9) that "no money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law;" and (article 1, section 7) that "all bills for raising revenues shall originate in the House of Representatives."

Thus not only was the control of the purse of the nation placed in the hands of "Congress," but the people, jealous of the branch of that body least directly responsible to the people, placed that control very much more in the hands of their most direct agents, the members of the House of Representatives.

No proposition to remove money from the pockets of the citizens directly or indirectly, and place it in the public treasury, can be constitutionally originated except by the lower House, and no money can constitutionally be removed from the public treasury for any purpose whatever without the concurrence of both Houses of Congress. Your committee insist that the power of "Congress" over the "territory" to which the United States holds the absolute, ultimate fee-simple title, and which has been shown, by quotations from the highest possible authorities on the subject, to include lands occupied by Indians as well as public lands not so occupied, is a power vested solely and exclusively in that department of our Government which is composed of the "Senate and House of Representatives," and that neither branch of Congress, acting separately, or in conjunction with any other department or officer of our Government, can by any process, direct or indirect, "dispose of" any portion of such "territory," in any way or manner whatever, without the express concurrence of the other branch of "Congress."

The language of the Constitution is very plain on this subject. . . . Repeated decisions of the highest judicial tribunal of the land have defined the character of that power beyond a possible doubt.

LIONEL A. SHELDON.

 LIONEL A. SHELDON was born in Otsego County, New York, August 30, 1831. When about four years of age he was taken by his parents to Ohio, where he spent his youth, attending school during the winter months, and working on a farm during the remainder of the year. At the age of sixteen, having obtained such training as the common school afforded, he left his father's house for the purpose of securing the means of higher education elsewhere. By dint of labor on a farm, alternating with school-teaching, he earned money to pay his expenses while taking an irregular course of study at Oberlin College. He subsequently studied law at Elyria, Ohio, and at Poughkeepsie, New York. Having been admitted to the bar in 1853, he opened a law office at Elyria, the county seat of Lorain County, and immediately entered upon a large practice. He was elected Judge of Probate, and served one term, but declined a renomination, preferring to resume the practice of his profession, which he continued without further interruption until the breaking out of the Rebellion.

Politically he was reared a Democrat, and cast his first vote for Franklin Pierce. He was thoroughly imbued with the principles of republicanism as taught by the founders of the government, and in 1854 was active in organizing in his county opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He labored to prevent the repeal of the plank which had stood in the platform of the Ohio Democracy from 1848 to 1853 inclusive, denouncing slavery as an evil, and pledging the party to the use of every constitutional means to mitigate and finally eradicate that evil. The result of this opposition was to throw him into the Republican party at its organization.



L. A. Sheldon

In 1856 Mr. Sheldon was a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention, and voted for the nomination of John C. Fremont for President. Upon the stump and otherwise he supported actively and ably the nominees of the Republican party until the breaking out of the war. He was commissioned Brigadier-General of Militia by Governor Chase, and took an active part in raising volunteers at the beginning of the war. In August, 1861, he was unanimously chosen as captain of a company in the Second Ohio Cavalry, and was promoted to the rank of major. Preferring the infantry service, however, he was, at his own request, transferred to the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, in which he received a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel. He remained in this position until for gallant and meritorious service he was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment, and was brevetted Brigadier-General.

In 1861 and 1862 he served in West Virginia, Kentucky, and East Tennessee, taking part in the Cumberland Gap expedition under General Morgan. In November, 1862, he was detached from his regiment and placed in command of a brigade of new troops. He participated prominently in the battles of Chickasaw, Bayou and Arkansas Post, and was honorably mentioned in the reports of commanding officers.

On the first of May he was wounded at the battle of Port Gibson, in which his brigade suffered most severely. He participated in the battles and siege which resulted in the capture of Vicksburg. Subsequently, going with the Thirteenth Corps to the Department of the Gulf, he served until the close of the war in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas.

At the close of the war he settled in New Orleans, where he engaged successfully in the practice of his profession. He was elected a Representative from Louisiana to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, and was appointed on the Committee on Commerce. He was active in his efforts to secure additional banking circulation for the Southern States, and labored efficiently to secure legislation favorable to the Southern Pacific Railroad.

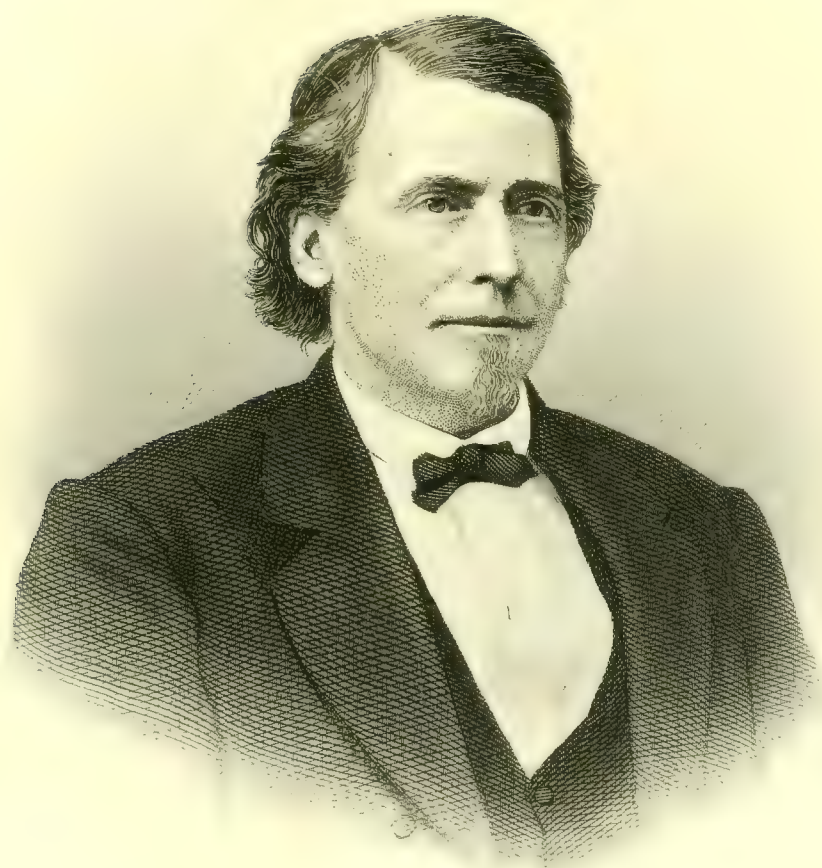
WILLIAM C. SHERROD.



WILLIAM C. SHERROD was born in Courtland, Ala., August 17, 1835. His ancestry on both sides were active loyalists in the Revolutionary War. His father was a large cotton-planter, a prominent politician, and one of the earliest and most active promoters of railroad enterprises in the South. He was projector and builder of the Decatur and Tuscumbia Railroad, one of the first roads built in Alabama.

The subject of this sketch prepared for college at Edgefield, S. C., and was educated at Chapel Hill College under the presidency of Governor Swaine. He afterwards engaged in cotton planting, at the same time devoting some attention to politics. He was a member of the National Democratic Convention held in Charleston in 1860, and of the Alabama Legislature in 1858, 1859, and 1860. He was the only member of that body who persistently refused to sign the ordinance of secession. He finally, however, cast in his fortunes with his State, and entering the army of the "Confederate States," he served during the war, principally in the army of Tennessee under Bragg and Hood, leaving the service at the close as colonel of an Alabama regiment.


After the close of the war he resumed his occupation as a cotton-planter, conducting his operations on an extensive scale, and making the culture of cotton with free labor a success. He was elected a Representative from Alabama to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat. He served on the Committee on Railways and Canals, and devoted himself with untiring industry to the success of the Southern Pacific Railroad, contributing more to the accomplishment of legislation for that end than any other Representative in Congress.



W. C. Sherman

REPRESENTATIVE FROM ALABAMA

FRANCIS E. SHOBER.

RANCIS E. SHOBER was born in Salem, North Carolina, March 12, 1831. He pursued an academical course of study in his own State and Pennsylvania, and in June, 1851, graduated at the University of North Carolina. He studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1854. He was always attached to the Union of the States; he considered the doctrine of secession a political heresy, and was prominent in his section in his resistance to the secession movement. In the spring of 1861 he zealously canvassed his county for the Union upon the question of a convention, and although old parties there were about equally divided, he carried the county for the Union by five hundred majority. When a subsequent call was made for a convention to pass an ordinance of secession, which had then become a foregone conclusion, he declined to be a delegate, as he would not become a party to the suicidal act.

When the war which he and his friends were powerless to avert came on he held himself aloof from participation therein, but afterward, by reason of his record for the Union, he was elected in 1862 to a seat in the Legislature of his State, and while serving there he belonged to the minority, which, though powerless to control, was yet enabled in some degree to check the violence of the extremists in that body, who were largely in the ascendant.

In 1865 he was elected to the State Senate, and subsequently was elected a Representative to the Forty-first Congress from North Carolina by the conservative men of all parties in his district. Having served in the Legislature of North Carolina, he was unable to take the test oath, although under none of the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment; hence Congress passed a special act providing for Mr. Shober an oath of office, which he took on the 13th of April, 1870.

HENRY W. SLOCUM.



HENRY W. SLOCUM was born at Delphi, Onondaga County, New York, September 24, 1827, and was educated at West Point Military Academy. He graduated at this Institution in 1852 with the rank of seventh in his class, and was assigned to duty as a Lieutenant in the First Regiment of Artillery, and was stationed for the most part in Florida and Charleston, S. C.

During this period Lieutenant Slocum was not idle, but entered on the study of law and was admitted to practice. At the end of five years of army service he resigned his commission, and settled as a lawyer at Syracuse, New York. Here he continued until the breaking out of the Rebellion, when he organized and took to the field the Twenty-seventh regiment of New York Volunteers, which on its arrival at Washington was immediately ordered to the front, and participated in the battle of Bull Run, where Colonel Slocum was severely wounded. Upon his recovery he was made a Brigadier-General, and assigned to a brigade in General Franklin's Division. In the Peninsula campaign he was placed in command of the First Division of the Sixth Corps, in which position he participated in the battles of City Point, Gaines' Mill, White Oak Swamp, Charles City Cross Roads, and Malvern Hill. For gallantry and distinguished services during this arduous campaign he was made a Major-General, and when the army was recalled from the James River he participated in the campaign of General Pope in front of Washington.

In the pursuit of Lee, in his invasion of Maryland, General Slocum, with his division, carried Crampton's Gap in the South Mountain by assault, routing McLaw's rebel division, and capturing



A. W. Loomis

a large number of prisoners. In the battle of Antietam his division performed good service against the enemy, resulting in Lee's retreat across the Potomac under cover of night. General Mansfield, commanding the Twelfth Corps, having been killed in the battle of Antietam, General Slocum was assigned to command the same October, 1862.

During the winter of 1862-1863 General Slocum's corps, with the rest of the Army of the Potomac, was encamped before Fredericksburg, and little was done in the way of offensive movements. When, however, General Hooker, in the succeeding May, commenced operations, he assigned to General Slocum the task of making a flank movement, by the way of the Rappahannock and Rapidan, to Chancellorsville. This movement was accomplished successfully, and in the engagement that ensued his command bore a gallant and bloody part, and, though the campaign proved disastrous, yet no part of the blame could be attached to them.

After the retreat from Chancellorsville came Lee's second northern invasion, culminating at the battle of Gettysburg in his disastrous defeat and hasty retreat back to Virginia. In all this bloody campaign General Slocum participated with his command, having charge of the right of the Army of the Potomac during the three days of Gettysburg. In the following September, after the reverse of Rosecrans at Chickamauga, General Slocum, in command of the Twelfth Corps from the Army of the Potomac, was ordered West, and was engaged during the autumn and winter in varied service in Tennessee. In the succeeding spring he was assigned to the command of the Department of the Mississippi, and while in that command made several raids into the interior of the State to prevent the rebel General Johnston from being reinforced while opposing Sherman's advance on Atlanta. In one of these raids he was victorious in a severe engagement near Jackson. Subsequently General Slocum was transferred to the Twentieth Corps in Sherman's Army, and in five days after assuming command he had the honor to receive the surrender of Atlanta, and to forward the official dispatch to the War Department.

In his "march to the sea" General Sherman divided his command into two armies—the Army of Tennessee, commanded by General Howard, and the Army of Georgia, commanded by General Slocum. During the march the Army of Georgia formed the left wing, and destroyed most of the Georgia State railroads from Atlanta to the Oconee River, and of the Georgia Central from Davisborough to Savannah. The Army of Georgia was the first to enter the city of Savannah, and General Slocum was put in chief command of it while it was occupied by Sherman's army, which, however, stayed but a short time, starting on a new campaign through the Carolinas to form a conjunction with Grant's army.

This march was made at the worst season of the year, across swollen streams and rivers that required bridging, and through swamps which necessitated the construction of miles of corduroy to enable the army to move. During this march occurred the battles of Averysborough and Bentonville, in both of which the entire engagement was borne by General Slocum's command. At Bentonville Johnston made his last grand effort to stay the advance of Sherman's army, and to accomplish this he suddenly attacked Slocum on the 19th of March, 1865, but was totally beaten and forced to retreat on Raleigh, leaving the road clear and unobstructed for the concentration of Sherman's army at Goldsborough. The war was now practically over, the capture of Lee and the rest of the rebel armies soon following.


After the disbandment of the Army of Georgia General Slocum was assigned to the command of the Department of the Mississippi, retaining this command until his resignation in October, 1865, to accept the Democratic nomination for Secretary of State of New York. He settled in Brooklyn, and engaged in the practice of law.

In 1868 General Slocum was chosen a presidential elector, and was elected a Representative from New York in the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, and, taking his seat in that body, he was appointed a member of the Committee on Military Affairs.



J. S. Smith

JOSEPH S. SMITH.

 JOSEPH S. SMITH was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, June 20, 1824. When he was eight years of age his parents emigrated to Clermont County, Ohio, where his mother died. Three years later he removed with his father to Vermillion County, Indiana, where he worked on the farm in summer, and in winter attended such schools as the country then afforded. He had a great fondness for books, and from his early boyhood read everything he could obtain. He had a strong desire for learning, and left his home at the age of sixteen in hopes of obtaining by his own exertions a more liberal education than his father's limited means could afford. He went to school some months of every year until he was nearly twenty, when, with the hope of recovering his health, which had never been good, he went to Oregon. He was a year making the overland journey, spending the winter of 1844-45 among the Indians in the Rocky Mountains. He had many hair-breadth escapes from the Indians, and came near perishing among the snows in the mountains. In the spring of 1845 he went with only two companions from Brown's Hole in the mountains to the settlements in the Willamette Valley.

Soon after reaching Oregon he commenced the study of law, supporting himself by severe manual labor and by teaching school until admitted to the bar. For several years, while engaged in the practice of his profession, he was a Local Preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but was never ordained.

In 1853 he went to Puget Sound, in Washington Territory. He served for some time as Prosecuting Attorney of the Third Judicial District of that Territory. He was elected to the Legislature, and, although a new member, was unanimously chosen Speaker of the

House of Representatives. Subsequently he was appointed by President Buchanan United States District-Attorney, without having applied for the position.

Returning to Oregon in 1858 he settled in Salem, the capital of the State, where he engaged in an extensive law practice. In 1862 he was unanimously nominated by the Democratic Convention for the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon, but he declined to be a candidate. In 1860 he became extensively engaged in the manufacture of woollen goods as the principal proprietor and financial manager of the Willamette Woollen Mills, the first erected on the Pacific coast. In 1866 he received the vote of his party for United States Senator, and came within three votes of an election. In 1867, with his family, he visited Europe, and after having attended the Paris Exposition traveled extensively on the continent.

On his return to Oregon in 1868 he was nominated by acclamation by the State Democratic Convention for Representative in Congress, and was elected by over twelve hundred majority, the first Democrat chosen to the position from that State for eight years. Taking his seat as a Representative in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Smith served on the Committee on Indian Affairs, and the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and the War of 1812.


Mr. Smith addressed the House on several important subjects of legislation. One of his first speeches was on the Reconstruction of Georgia, of which the following is the conclusion :

I have no doubt that this bill will pass. It is true that it is in conflict with your former legislation; that it violates your solemn and oft-repeated pledges; that it overrides the legitimate authority of a State Legislature; that it dictates to the people of a State their local laws; that it openly disregards the Constitution of the United States; that it spurns from the Halls of Congress the Representatives of a State, and tells them never to return until their constituents have kissed the hand that smites them, bound themselves with a chain never to be broken, and performed the meanest offices of slaves by assisting to bind their brethren. All this it does; but what of that? The political situation is such that one of the cherished objects of the Republican party will fail if it does not pass; and when did that party ever hesitate to accomplish its purposes on account of constitutional restrictions or regard for the rights of others? The bill will pass, but will the country approve it? I cannot believe it will.



W. Smith

WILLIAM JAY SMITH.

ILLIAM JAY SMITH was born in Birmingham, England, September 23, 1823. He came to this country when quite young, and located in Orange County, N. Y., whence, after learning the trade of painting, he removed to the city, married, and industriously prosecuted his profession.

When the Mexican war was declared Mr. Smith was in the South, and promptly volunteered in a Tennessee regiment, and served to the end of that contest. He was mustered out at Memphis, and, discerning the promising aspects of that young city, he determined to commence business there, in which he was successful. His health failing, however, he decided to change his location and business, and became partner in the purchase of a half section of land in the vicinity of Grand Junction, where he commenced the establishment of an extensive nursery. This he continued to cultivate and manage until the beginning of the war of the Rebellion. Being an earnest Union man, and without the slightest sympathy with secession, he was urged by his personal friends to retire to the North until the war should end, they assuring him that even under his own vine and fig-tree his life was in danger. He responded that his children, home, and all his possessions were in the South, and there he should remain and defend them to the last. Exasperated at his unyielding fidelity, his enemies and the enemies of his country sought to effect by persecution what his friends were unable to compass by persuasion. He was accordingly arrested at his home, brought before General Beauregard under a charge of treason, but was acquitted. During the presence of the United States troops in his vicinity he remained for the most part undisturbed at his home, but in the temporary absence of these troops from his neighborhood he was seized by

some rebel scouts, carried away from his house to the woods, and threatened with immediate death unless he should swear allegiance to the South ; but with characteristic pertinacity, preferring death to dishonor, he refused their terms, and after a brief consultation among themselves he was informed that he would be sent South, where he would be forced to yield to their demands. Friends, however, interceded at this juncture, and he was permitted to go home, under parole not to leave his home for thirty days. The 2d Illinois cavalry, learning his condition, visited his house and released him, when he immediately entered the Union service, first as a guide, and then as a private. He subsequently joined the 6th Tennessee cavalry, and was soon promoted to be Major of his regiment, shortly after Lieutenant-Colonel, and then Colonel ; and not long afterward, for the excellent discipline of his command, a complimentary order was issued appointing him Brigadier-General by brevet.

Our limits will not allow us to present any adequate detail of General Smith's military services. Suffice it to say that he was all the time active. His knowledge of the country, together with his reliability as an officer, rendered his scouting operations invaluable, and in this department of the service he was engaged much of the time. He engaged the enemy at Jackson, Clifton, Humboldt, Cow Pond, and other places in Tennessee ; also at Cold Water, Salem, and Ripley, Mississippi, and his last fight was in participation with General Thomas at Nashville, when Hood was routed.

At the return of peace General Smith was a member of the Constitutional Convention for reorganizing civil government in Tennessee, and also a member of the first Legislature. In 1867 he was elected to the State Senate.

In 1868 General Smith entered the legal profession, and in the same year was elected to the Forty-first Congress. In that body he labored with his characteristic energy, supported the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the Enforcement Act, and gave unremitted attention to the interests of his constituents, as well as those of the country generally.

WORTHINGTON C. SMITH.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Smith served on the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on Manufactures. On the 7th of June, 1870, he delivered a speech on the Bill to increase banking facilities, in which he thus sets forth the quantity and quality of the currency :

The notes issued by these national banks, amounting to about three hundred million dollars, and the legal-tender notes of the Government in addition to the fractional notes, amounting to the aggregate of about four hundred million dollars, form the entire amount of our currency. It is large if not ample in amount, but it lacks the essential quality of value. It is vitiated by reason of its divorcement from real money, and stands forced to an arbitrary and unreal standard, to the constant injury of business and the dishonor of the Government. All healthy industry and all legitimate trade need and demand a fixed standard of value or its paper representative, always convertible into the standard itself, and cry out against a continuance of the existing system of national impoverishment and disgrace. It is because the Government demand notes, long overdue, are still unfundable and irredeemable, and because of the quality of legal-tender that has been forced upon them, that the whole volume of the currency is vitiated and debased, to the manifest injury of the national credit and the business interests of the whole country.

The exigencies of a great war occasioned the issue and quality of these notes, and the fearful perils that environed and threatened the Government would have justified even more severe and extreme measures for its preservation. But with peace restored, with the Government strengthened through its conflicts and victories, and strong in its power and resources, nothing can justify a continuance of an irredeemable and depreciated currency; and it hence becomes the urgent duty of the Government to repair as speedily as possible the injury which has been done, and to furnish and assure to the people a circulating medium sufficient in quantity, uniform in value, and possessing the essential qualities of elasticity and convertibility.

In another passage of the same speech Mr. Smith traces the origin of National Banks :

The situation was wisely comprehended, and with a view to prevent a great if not fatal depreciation of the Government notes, to initiate a new form of currency which should rest upon solid securities and have uniformity of value by reason of its impress of national guarantee, and to insure the negotiation of a large additional amount of interest-bearing securities, the national bank system was devised and enacted into a law. Though new and experimental, and put forward at a time of general distrust and apprehension, it soon secured the confidence and support of loyal and generous capitalists. Associations were rapidly organized; the Government credit was sustained; the Government bonds were sold, and a safe and popular currency was furnished to the people. It solved the financial problem of the war, and enabled the Government triumphantly to maintain the unity and integrity of the Republic.

WILLIAM SMYTH.



WILLIAM SMYTH was born January 3, 1824, of Scotch parents, in County Tyrone, Ireland. His parents were Reformed Presbyterian in religious belief. He was, of course, brought up in that faith, receiving in his childhood the somewhat severe but thorough scriptural training peculiar to that Christian denomination, which laid the foundation of a purity of life which challenged the approval of the most circumspect. Nor was the culture of his mind neglected. He enjoyed the advantages of the primary schools and academical instruction in his native country. This mental discipline was supplemented by a three years' course of legal reading under the direction of one of Iowa's ablest jurists before his admission to the bar. It was thus he acquired the studious habits and that capacity for sustained laborious research which secured professional eminence and crowned his public career with marvelous success.

When about fifteen years of age he emigrated with his parents to the United States, resided a few years in Pennsylvania, but ultimately settled in Linn County, Iowa, where he spent some time in agricultural pursuits. In 1845 he commenced the study of law in the office of Judge James P. Carlton, in Iowa City, the capital of that State. Three years afterward he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession in Marion, Linn County, where he continued to reside until the day of his death.

He soon took rank with the ablest members of the profession, and was almost immediately designated as attorney for the State in his judicial circuit, in which office he was continued by the suffrages of the people for about five years, when, a vacancy having

occurred in the office of Judge of the District Court by the death of his old law preceptor, Judge Carlton, he was first appointed by the Governor, and afterward elected by the people, without opposition, to fill this high office. He served, with great acceptability to the bar and people, about three years, when, in 1857, he resigned and resumed the practice of his profession. In 1858 he was chosen by the Legislature chairman of a commission to revise and codify the laws of the State, which resulted in what is known in Iowa as the code of 1860. At the end of this service he was appointed chairman of "the commission of legal inquiry," a position requiring the highest order of practical legal learning.

In 1861, immediately after the commencement of the Rebellion, he was selected by the Legislature as a member of a commission to negotiate the Iowa war loan, to be used in putting the State in a condition to repel a threatened rebel attack on the southern border, and to equip the first regiments of Iowa troops raised for the national defense. On August 10, 1862, he was appointed Colonel of the Thirty-first Iowa Infantry, with which he marched to the front, encountering, with his comrades in arms, the perils and toils of the field until December 15, 1864, when, on account of what proved to be permanent loss of health, he resigned his command, and again returned to the practice of the law. In 1868 he was elected to a seat in the Forty-first Congress, and in the autumn of 1870, a short time before his death, was nominated by the Republican convention of his district without opposition for re-election. These almost continuous employments in judicial, legislative, financial, and military positions, commencing with the office of Prosecuting Attorney and culminating in his elevation to a seat in the national councils, will afford an intimation of the estimation in which he was held by the people among whom he lived, and by the Legislature and Executive of the State of his adoption.—*Remarks of Hon. James Harlan in the Senate on the announcement of the death of Mr. Smyth.*

HENRY H. STARKWEATHER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Starkweather, having been re-elected to the Forty-first Congress, took his seat on the 9th of April, 1869, and was appointed to the Committee on Naval Affairs and the Committee on Commerce. In a speech on the bill to provide for the removal of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, Mr. Starkweather thus spoke of the importance of a well-appointed navy :

The unparalleled growth of the country in population, wealth, and commercial importance during the last half century, and especially its political relation to other leading nations, require that this Government should organize and maintain a navy that shall command respect in peace and defend its great and varied interests in time of war. During and since the Rebellion what had been previously regarded as desirable in this respect has become an indispensable necessity. For some years prior to the Rebellion a great change had been in progress in the structure and armature of ships of war. Since the establishment of the most important of our navy-yards an entire revolution has taken place in the construction of naval vessels. Iron has supplanted oak ; steam has the mastery over sails. Henceforth steam and iron are essential elements in our Navy if we would command success.

I propose to show that it is the part of wise economy for this Government to maintain a well-established naval force. To do this facilities must be had for the construction, docking, and repair of iron-clad and other vessels. Were we to-day involved in a foreign war with any first-class European Power the damage that would result to our commerce for the want of an efficient navy would be beyond estimation. . . .

We have demonstrated our capacity for self-government. We have crushed a rebellion causeless in its beginning and giant in its proportions. All the old States are restored, and *new* stars shine out *anew* on the old flag. The past is secure ; but recent events remind us that we are the envy of England and some of the continental European Powers. We occupy the gateway of commerce and empire between Europe and the countless population of Asia and India. Our commerce is soon to cover every sea. The ocean cable speaks to us from the "great deep," as it touches our shores and links us to the civilization of all lands and peoples, with an eloquence almost divine.

As we survey our great land, like a young giant among the nations, with his head crowned with the "jewels of northern clime" and his loins girded by the tropics, a land bounded by two oceans, with its twenty thousand miles of ocean coast and twice as many thousand more of lakes and rivers, the vision of the seer and prophet of inspiration is repeated : "Behold, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, on the east three gates, and on the west three gates."

Let us keep securely our goodly heritage from all intruders by a wise preparation for the emergencies of the future, and guard well the gateway of empire and Christian civilization. Let us build wisely and well. And having given this subject patient consideration, I see no better way of taking security for the future than by giving efficiency to our Navy, and re-building our navy-yards on a wise, comprehensive, and economical plan.

AARON F. STEVENS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Stevens served on the Committee on Naval Affairs and the Committee on Patents. On the 19th of February, 1870, he addressed the House on the subject of the President's Annual Message. The following are the closing paragraphs of this speech :

It rests with Congress in the plenitude of its power to indorse the just principles thus laid down by the President, and by timely and prudent measures sustain him in his attempts to reclaim the country from the extravagant ideas and costly policy of a warlike period to the healthy frugality and sound condition of an era of peace. How shall it be done ?

It is through the firm and united efforts of the Republican party of the country that these desirable results are to be accomplished. All branches of the Government are now in political harmony. That party has its history, prouder and nobler than the record of Kings or States, and that history is to-day its pledge of future patriotism and good government. It cannot afford to be false to that history, nor will it be. Its past is proud, patriotic, glorious. It had its origin in the great principles of justice and equality, the true foundations of a republican State. It has been the champion of human liberty, and vindicated its claim to that proud title by the overthrow of an oppression unrivaled in magnitude and power. In the hour of its country's trial it poured out its treasures at the stern demand of inexorable war. By the courage of its legislative policy and the energy of its confederated power it hurled the victorious armies of the Union against a brave but cruel foe, and struck down the flag of treason and rebellion, never, I trust, to be again borne aloft. It tore the shackles from the fettered limbs of four million slaves, whose fervent songs are to-day rising in thanksgiving to God for their great deliverance. When its arms had shattered the power of the Rebellion, by its wise and comprehensive policy it gathered within the folds of its great scheme of reconstruction the jarring and discordant elements, and out of chaos and confusion evoked order and strength. Holding by its firm and powerful organization the legislative power of the country, it has thrown the shield of the Constitution over the emancipated freedmen, and at last bestowed the right of citizenship and of suffrage on millions hitherto degraded and disfranchised. It has had its trials and its sacrifices. Forth to the fields of war and carnage, from their free and happy homes, marched the brave and gallant men who on a hundred stricken fields maintained the honor of the country, pouring out their blood like water, a willing sacrifice to the holy cause of liberty. The garnered ashes of our martyred heroes repose in the great tombs of Arlington and Gettysburg, while the lurid glare of the mighty struggle in which they fell is lighting the future pathway of our national life and glory. Along that pathway the traveler shall pause to gaze on the shadowy forms of those who went down in the great contest for constitutional liberty; but of them all no form shall rise more benignant, no countenance shall shine more radiant than that of him, our great leader, the martyred Lincoln.

JOB E. STEVENSON.

JOB E. STEVENSON was born in Ross County, Ohio, February 10, 1832. He received an irregular collegiate education, studied law, and steadily practiced his profession.

He was solicitor of Chillicothe from 1859 to 1862, and was a member of the Ohio Senate from Ross and Highland Counties in 1863, 1864, and 1865. He was a Republican candidate for Congress in the twelfth district of Ohio in 1864, and removed to Cincinnati in the following year, where he continued the practice of law, and was elected, as a Republican, a Representative from Ohio to the Forty-first Congress, during which he was a member of the Committees on Elections and Mileage.


In a speech, June 28, 1870, Mr. Stevenson advocated the claims of the commerce of inland cities, presenting the following picture of the relations of New York to the country :

It is the system of laws and regulations relating to imports which practically prevents direct importation of merchandise to the interior, and gives a monopoly of our immense importations of commodities from foreign lands, consumed by the people of the country, to the sea-board cities, and, with other conspiring causes, tends to concentrate that monopoly in one city. So far have these causes operated to this end that every other part of the Republic pays, and has long paid, tribute to that single city. I need not name her name; it is in every man's mind. The tribute we pay her is double and treble, for not only do we import, but we also export over her counters. Constrained to buy of her, we must sell to her in order to pay for what we buy, and, being obliged to buy of and sell to her, we are compelled to make her our banker; to constitute her, without bond or security, our agent, factor, and broker; to give into her hands the key and the purse, and submit ourselves her commercial tributaries and subjects. This city by the sea contains, perhaps, one fortieth of the population of the Republic, yet nearly three-fourths, thirty-fortieths, of our national imports and exports pass through her hands. . . . No reasonable man can suppose that in this free Republic a majority of the people, dwelling, as they do, in the fertile valleys and fruitful plains of the great and growing interior, and furnishing the staple productions and wealth of the nation, will long endure the commercial mastery and monopoly of the coast.



John D. Stiles

JOHN D. STILES.

OHN D. STILES was born in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, January 15, 1823. He received an academic education, and was admitted to the bar in 1844. He settled, to practice, his profession in Allentown, Lehigh County, in his native State, shortly after coming to the bar, and at once took an active part in politics and a leading position in his profession. In 1853 he was almost unanimously nominated by the Democratic party for the office of District Attorney, to which he was elected without opposition. He held the office for three years, during which time he rapidly rose in his profession. He was chosen a delegate to the National Convention in 1856, and aided largely in placing Mr. Buchanan in nomination for the Presidency. In that memorable contest the organization of the party was held by the young men of Pennsylvania, prominent among whom was Mr. Stiles. In his county Mr. Buchanan received a larger increased majority than in any other county of Pennsylvania. Mr. Stiles never asked for, and never received an appointment to office, Federal or State.

In 1860 Thomas B. Cooper, Democrat, was elected to Congress from the Fifth District of Pennsylvania, composed of the Counties of Lehigh and Bucks, by a majority of 100 votes. Mr. Cooper entered upon his duties, but in the beginning of the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress died, and Governor Curtin, fearing that a Democrat might be elected, delayed his proclamation for a special election for an unreasonable length of time, but finally ordered an election for the 24th day of May, 1862.

Mr. Stiles, with very great unanimity, received the Democratic nomination but a single week before the election. Congress was then in session, and the progress of the war caused the election to

be one of the most exciting that ever took place in the State. The district had been represented by a Radical in the preceding Congress, and was considered a doubtful one. Mr. Stiles was elected by 585 majority, a greater majority than had been given for any Democrat for years. He assumed his seat in the Thirty-seventh Congress on the 3d day of June, 1862, and at once took an active part in its proceedings.

By the apportionment of the State in 1862 his Congressional District was changed, Montgomery County having been annexed to Lehigh, and Bucks connected with Philadelphia. In the new district of Lehigh and Montgomery Mr. Stiles was, by unanimous consent, placed in nomination for re-election. The Radicals made vigorous efforts to defeat him. His record in Congress on the war was made the cause of bitterness, and he was more strenuously opposed because of his opposition to the first tax bill, against which he spoke and voted in the Thirty-seventh Congress. His opponent, Judge Krause, was a man of much personal popularity, of great ability, and had been up to a short time before a Democrat. He was denominated a "War Democrat," and hoped to receive sufficient support from the Democracy to carry the District. Mr. Stiles received a most flattering indorsement, carrying his district against fierce personal opposition by a majority of 3,224.

In 1864 Mr. Stiles was not a candidate for renomination. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1864, supported General McClellan in the Convention, and took an active part in the ensuing campaign. In 1866 he was a delegate appointed by the Democratic State Central Committee to the National Union Convention which met in Philadelphia. In the Democratic State Convention of 1866, Mr. Stiles, although not a candidate, received the vote of his own and several other counties for Governor. In 1868 he was a delegate to the New York Convention which nominated Mr. Seymour, and in the same year, his county again being entitled to the candidate, he was unanimously placed on nomination, and was elected to the Forty-first Congress by a majority of 2,679.

Being in the minority party during his entire service in Congress, Mr. Stiles was never favored with prominent positions on the committees of the House. He took an active part in the proceedings of the House. No man was more active and determined in the opposition to the land grant subsidies, and his course in Congress was universally approved in his district upon all the great questions which agitated the country during his three terms of service.

Mr. Stiles made several important and effective speeches in the House, one of the last of which was delivered February 15, 1871, on the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, of which the following is an extract:

You will give the President, and the officers created directly by him, the power to control by force the popular elections all over the country. The first election under this act will be next year, when a President, Vice-President, and members of this House are to be chosen. You place in the hands of a military chieftain now occupying the Presidency, and who is seeking a re-election, the sword and bayonet, who can wield them with despotic will for his ambitious purposes. He is now seeking, in the dispensation of his patronage, to silence the opposition in his party; and when the time comes to strike for a new lease of power he will use all the means placed within his control. Give to any one, with or without fame, who has ambition, the powers conferred by this bill, and with an unscrupulous party behind him, it will require such stern resistance as becomes a patriotic people against these encroachments upon their reserved rights. The love of power, the love of fame, the thirst for renown, the grasping spirit—

“Howe’er concealed by art
Reigns more or less in every human heart.”

And in him who now sits “at the other end of the avenue” this truth is more than ever exemplified.

Sir, we should add nothing to the powers already conferred upon the executive department of this country; certainly none such as are here given without limitation or restraint. The time is coming when such legislation will receive the just condemnation of the people. I know how patient we have been, and how we have yielded obedience to the demands of power. I know the restless and aggressive spirit that prompts the enactment of such a law as this. The power conferred upon you is fast, rapidly, passing from your hands. In a few more days a hundred conservative men will fill these seats. Steadily and certainly the power wielded by an unscrupulous party will pass from you, and this is the last struggle to hold your waning, sinking fortunes. Hurriedly, in the lapsing days of this Congress, casting about for the last plank, after you have been repudiated and condemned, you seek to hold on to that power you have so long abused by blackening the records with the most infamous proposition ever conceived.

WILLIAM B. STOKES.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Stokes during the Forty-first Congress was a member of the Committee on Claims, and was Chairman of the Select Committee on the Ninth Census. On the 6th of December, 1869, he reported a very elaborate bill to provide for taking the Ninth Census, and when the subject came up for consideration in Committee of the Whole, two days later, he gave the control and management of the bill to Mr. Garfield, who, as Chairman of the Sub-committee, had, as Mr. Stokes remarked, labored for months in order to perfect a proper bill.

On the 21st of February, 1870, Mr. Stokes, addressing the House on the subject of the removal of political disabilities, remarked :

My policy has been, and I hope to be able to continue that line of policy as I have proclaimed it upon almost every stump in my State, that every man, I care not who he is, how high or how humble he may be, who puts his name to a paper asking to be relieved, shall have my vote in favor of a bill relieving him from political disability. It matters not with me who he is or where he comes from. We provided in the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution a way by which these men could be relieved, and after we have done that I think it is the duty of Congress to relieve these men on making proper applications.

On the 14th of July Mr. Stokes earnestly opposed a report from the Committee on Reconstruction recommending a bill to relieve certain persons from political disabilities, for the reason that the Committee failed to include the names of persons proposed by him whose prayers for relief had been well recommended.

In 1869 Mr. Stokes was the Republican candidate for Governor of Tennessee, and made a vigorous canvass of the State; but he was defeated by Mr. Senter, who received the support of some leading Republicans under the impression that he would carry out the principles and policy of their party.

Mr. Stokes was a candidate for re-election to the Forty-second Congress, but was beaten by a majority of 5,559 votes by Mr. Garrett, whom he had defeated in the preceding congressional election by a majority of 4,380 votes. This was the result of the liberal policy which was pursued in Tennessee of relieving from disfranchisement those who had been previously denied the right of suffrage by reason of their participation in the Rebellion.

FREDERICK STONE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Stone was a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia. He presented an argument on the bill to admit Virginia to representation in Congress, of which the following is the conclusion:

The monarchies of Europe are liberalizing their governments and giving more rights to their people. England is extending the suffrage and disestablishing the Irish Church; France has a responsible ministerial government—all are yielding more or less power to the people. But republican America alone is centralizing; day by day the legislative department of the Government is absorbing the power of the executive and judiciary branches, and day by day is trying to absorb more and more all the powers of the States. This bill goes a step further than they have yet gone, and seeks to establish congressional control over State constitutions.

This bill of the committee attempts to disturb and destroy the whole theory of our Government in this, that it attempts to make Virginia, admitted and recognized Virginia, unequal to the other States. It attempts to impose fetters on her free action as a State; it attempts to impose conditions on her imposed on no other State. But it is only an attempt. Should the bill pass as reported, and Virginia be admitted, so soon as she is she has the right to regulate her own law in her own way, provided it is consistent with the Constitution of the United States. And I hope whenever she may see fit to change her organic law that she will do so, and that in making such changes she will only take care that they be consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Stone expressed his views on the tariff question in a speech delivered March 12, 1870, from which the following is an extract:

There was a time in the history of the country when patriotic men believed that a protective tariff would eventually benefit the country. Manufactures were then in their infancy, and many believed that to foster them by bounties would create a home market which for a present inconvenience would in the end compensate the farmer by an increased demand for agricultural products.

These politicians, and among them Mr. Clay, honestly believed that such results would follow. They believed that having once established the manufacturing interests, having fostered and protected and cared for them in their infancy, they would no longer ask or obtain protection when once firmly established. They believed that the present loss to the consumer would be more than compensated by future gains. They thought and believed that if they complied with the then demands of the manufacturer they would not thereafter demand the fostering care of the Government. But that thereafter never came. It never will come. Subsequent events have demonstrated the falsity of that opinion. A century has nearly rolled away and the time is no nearer. The manufacturer is still demanding the present good, and promising the future to others.

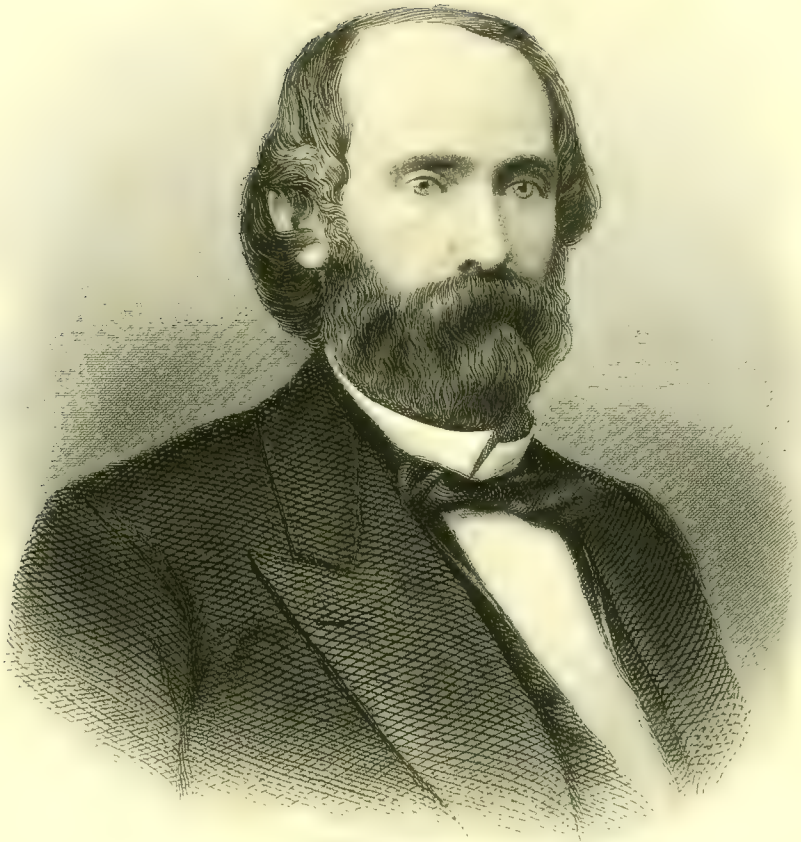
WILLIAM L. STOUGHTON.



WILLIAM L. STOUGHTON was born in New York, March 20, 1827. He received an academic education, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1851. He removed to Michigan and engaged in the practice of his profession in Sturgis, where he still resides. From 1855 to 1859 he served as Prosecuting Attorney. In March, 1861, he was appointed by President Lincoln United States District Attorney for Michigan, but resigned the same year in order to enter the Union army.

He served during the war as Colonel and Brigadier-General, and for gallant and meritorious services was promoted to the rank of Major-General by brevet. At the close of the war he returned to the practice of his profession. His services to the country and his ability as a lawyer were recognized in 1867 by his election to the office of Attorney General for the State of Michigan, to which he was re-elected in the following year.

He was elected a Representative from Michigan to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 25,196 votes against 17,396 for Chamberlain, Democrat. He served on the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. He took a prominent part in the proceedings, especially in connection with subjects referred to the Military Committee. His first speech, delivered January 21, 1870, was a brief but comprehensive and able discussion of financial questions, including the national debt and its management, the currency and taxation. He maintained the undoubted "ability of the American people, with their rapidly increasing stores of wealth, to pay the debt in the peaceful and prosperous years of the future," and supported his position by abundant citations of figures and authorities. After



Wm L. Boylston

showing the rapidity with which the debt had been reduced, he added :

It is not claimed that this rapid payment is necessary or desirable ; but it is all-important that the debt should be in process of gradual extinguishment. There is great force in the statement in the President's Message that "year by year the ability to pay is increased in a rapid ratio." It is estimated that the wealth of the nation doubles every twelve years. Twenty-five years hence the burden of paying the debt will be lessened fourfold. Let this policy be adopted and steadfastly pursued, and our bonds at a low rate of interest will soon bear a premium in the markets of the world, and the dread of our national debt, which now covers the land like a dark cloud, will give place to the promise and assurance of a safe and honorable deliverance.

He maintained that a return to specie payments was inevitable, that Congress was imperatively called upon to provide increased banking facilities for the South and West, and that taxation should be reduced.

On the 10th of January, 1871, Mr. Stoughton addressed the House in favor of the resolution for the appointment of a Commission to make certain investigations in relation to the Republic of Dominica. He maintained that the report thus provided for would "relieve the question of many of its difficulties, form a correct public opinion, and enable Congress to take such final action as the best interests of the country might require," adding in conclusion :

The acquisition of territory contiguous to our borders and tending to strengthen and perpetuate our material supremacy is no new policy. It is the judicious application of the Monroe doctrine, and is sanctioned by the practice of the Government for the last seventy years. Louisiana, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, California, and Alaska have successively been added to the territory of the Republic; and at this day but few will question the wisdom or statesmanship of the principle, or seriously question its application to the islands lying contiguous to our coast, and of equal if not greater importance.

If the people of San Domingo are desirous of annexation upon fair and reasonable terms, and if no causes exist rendering annexation unjust or inexpedient, then there are cogent reasons in favor of the measure which may control my actions.

1. It will furnish the people of that republic with what they greatly need and desire, a good and stable Government, and secure their future tranquillity and happiness.

2. It will greatly promote the industrial and commercial interests of the United States.

3. It will give us the control of the entrance of the Caribbean Sea, the great channel of commerce, the Bay of Samana, and a safe and commodious harbor.

4. In case of a foreign war it will give us a commanding position in the West Indies, and prevent an enemy from destroying our commerce and operating against the mainland.

5. It will extend the limits of our Republican institutions, and prevent the interference of European Powers in the affairs of this continent.

On the 20th of January Mr. Stoughton brought before the House from the Military Committee a carefully prepared bill to secure homesteads to all honorably discharged soldiers. The bill passed the House with but two votes in the negative. The following are brief extracts from his remarks in support of this important measure :

In the first place it confers substantial benefit on all the soldiers of the Republic. It provides that every soldier may enter 160 acres of any public land—not simply the reserved railroad lands, but any lands, whether railroad or other lands. Then follow several provisos to which I will briefly allude. The first is, that the homestead settler may have one year in which to commence his settlement. This is a great benefit to the soldiers. It will enable them to arrange their affairs at home in order to emigrate to the West. It will enable them to form colonies, so that they may go out in strong force, and thus be enabled to defend themselves from Indian aggressions, while at the same time it will increase the value of the lands upon which they settle.

Again, the bill provides that the time which the soldier has served in the army shall be deducted from the time necessary to acquire title. Why should not such a provision be adopted? If the soldier has served three years in the army can we offer him a more appropriate reward than by enacting that the term of his military service shall be deducted from the time necessary to acquire a homestead in the public domain? It is right and just, and will command the approbation of all classes of citizens.

There is also a provision that the soldier who is entitled to these rights may assign them, not to every person, but to any other person who is entitled to enter a homestead. It does not appropriate one acre of the public domain that is not otherwise liable to homestead entry. This provision ought to be adopted, because without it but few of the soldiers of this Republic will receive any benefit whatever from the bill.

What objection is there to this? It is said by some gentlemen on this floor that these rights will be assigned and will go into the hands of speculators. This might be the case if the substitute of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Holman] should be adopted; but the objection cannot apply to the provision of this bill. The soldier is allowed one year in which to enter the land and commence settlement; or, if he pleases, he may assign his right in the land, his inchoate title, to any other person who desires to actually settle upon the land as a homestead. If he does not make such settlement before the year expires the land reverts to the Government. Is there any thing so sacred in the

law that it cannot be temporarily modified to reward the bravery and devotion of the American soldier? We give the foreigner, the moment he steps upon the shores of this country and declares his intention to become a citizen, one hundred and sixty acres of as fair land as there is under the sun. Why not make the provision broader and more beneficial to the sons of the soil themselves, who have served three years in a perilous war, and to those foreigners who have earned their citizenship in the fire and smoke of battle?


During the consideration of the Army Appropriation Bill Mr. Jones, of Kentucky, offered an amendment providing that the United States Government should pay for the Arlington Cemetery. This led to an animated discussion in relation to the rights of the Government and the claims of the former owners of the Arlington estate, during which Mr. Stoughton presented the following views:

The soldiers who fell in defense of our national existence are at least entitled to the right of sepulture. And if there is one sentiment in the hearts of the American people which above all others is omnipotent, it is the determination that their graves shall never be disturbed by sacrilegious hands. We make no war upon the graves of those who upon many a battle-field challenged our admiration as a brave and spirited foe. And if any gentleman upon this floor or elsewhere imagines that we will suffer the honored forms of our fallen comrades to be torn from their last resting-place, he is woefully ignorant of the character, resources, and temper of the men who put down the Rebellion.

There is, Mr. Speaker, no question as to the title of the Government to Arlington and the other national cemeteries. It rests primarily upon the right of conquest. The land was taken from the enemy during actual hostilities and appropriated for a purpose as lasting as time. The rule is laid down by the most eminent writers on international law. . . . These cemeteries are the property of the United States by a legal and valid appropriation. The Constitution, article one, section eight, expressly empowers the General Government to declare and carry on war, to raise and support armies, and in the last clause of the section, "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof." The burial of the dead is a necessary incident of the war, and the right to take and hold land for the purpose comes clearly within this grant of power.

The courts are open to the descendants of General Lee and all other persons. If they have any valid claims against the United States for lands appropriated for national cemeteries they can be fully and fairly heard whenever they choose to go into court.

PETER W. STRADER.

ETER W. STRADER was born in Warren County, New Jersey, November 6, 1818, but from childhood his life has been identified with the West, his parents having emigrated to Ohio in the spring of 1819. He attended the common schools until twelve years of age, when he entered a printing-office, where he spent three years. Seeking a more active life, he went upon the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers as engineer and clerk of steamboats, in which employment he was occupied thirteen years, ending in June, 1848. He then accepted the position of General Ticket Agent of the Little Miami Railroad, which he held until February, 1867.

The nature of his employment during many years of his life prevented him from taking an active part in politics, in which he first appeared prominently in 1868, when he was elected a Representative from Ohio to the Forty-first Congress by a majority of two hundred and eleven votes over Hon. Benjamin Eggleston, his predecessor. On taking his seat in the Forty-first Congress Mr. Strader was assigned to the membership of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department.

The seat was contested by Mr. Eggleston, and the case was not finally decided until the last session, the Committee reporting, December 21, 1870, that Mr. Strader was entitled to the seat. The report was accepted without a division. Mr. Strader made no speeches. He was attentive to his duties as a Representative, voting uniformly with his party on all questions which divided the House. He was not a candidate for re-election.



P. W. Gaudet



R. S. Woodward

RANDOLPH STRICKLAND.

RANDOLPH STRICKLAND was born in Dansville, Steuben County, New York, February 4, 1823. His ancestors were from England, coming to this country in the sixteenth century. John Strickland, his grandfather, was a soldier in the Revolutionary war. His father came from Massachusetts to Dansville, New York, in 1816, and was among the first to make his home in what was then termed "the West."

Schools were few, and of the poorest kind. Very few books were to be found in the neighborhood. Under the instruction of his mother, who was a woman of strong mind, young Strickland learned to read and write, and when ten years old he had read every book to be found in the immediate vicinity of his home—including the Bible, which he had read twice through by course. He was the oldest of seven children, and when he was twelve years old his mother died. From that time he was compelled to labor daily to assist in supporting the family, and had no opportunity for study except after the day's work was done; then with his book in hand, by light made from burning pine-knots, he toiled on until "the small hours." By such unaided efforts he obtained a good common education. When sixteen years of age he was employed in a saw-mill, taking the position of a grown man, and laboring sixteen hours each day during the season. From that time until his majority he engaged in lumbering in winter and farming in summer.

At twenty-one he set out for Michigan, in the hope of being able to make for himself a pleasant home and an honorable position in society. When he reached his destination he had less than one dollar left; but he had an excellent constitution, great will-power, a strong determination to succeed, and was ready and willing

to perform any kind of hard labor. In December, 1844, he commenced teaching school in Ingham County, Michigan, for ten dollars per month, the best price to be obtained. When spring came he engaged in chopping and clearing land, and during summer labored in the harvest fields. In the fall following, having carefully saved his earnings, he commenced the study of the law. When his small amount of money had been expended for board and clothing, he left the office to work in the saw-mill, harvest field, and to teach school, always taking his law books with him, and never allowing an hour to be lost. In this way, without assistance as to means for his support, he struggled on until, in October, 1849, he was admitted to practice in all the courts of his State. The following winter he visited his early home in the State of New York, and there engaged in teaching.

In the spring of 1850 he returned to Michigan, and commenced the practice of his profession at De Witt. It was very soon apparent that he would succeed. In 1852 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney for Clinton county, a position of decided advantage to a young man just rising in his profession. In the administration of the office he gave such satisfaction that he was re-elected in 1854, 1856, and 1858. He was one of the delegates to the National Republican Convention held at Philadelphia in 1856, and earnestly advocated the nomination of John C. Fremont for President. During the following campaign he was on the stump continually, and aided materially in carrying his State for the candidate of his choice.

In 1860 Mr. Strickland was elected to the Michigan Senate, in which he served on the Judiciary Committee, advocated and assisted in carrying through the bill allowing parties to testify in their own behalf in civil cases, and also allowing the respondent in criminal cases to make his statement to the jury in the nature of evidence, on which they may acquit if they believe it. His party urged him to accept a second term in the Senate, but he declined, and was again in 1862 elected Prosecuting Attorney.

In the early part of the Rebellion Mr. Strickland was appointed

by the Governor of Michigan, the Commissioner to superintend the draft, known as the State conscription. President Lincoln in April, 1863, appointed him Provost Marshal for the Sixth Congressional District of his State, which office he held until after the close of the war, and was honorably discharged in October, 1865. In the execution of this most delicate trust he so performed his duty as to make a host of warm and earnest friends.

At the Congressional Convention held in his district in 1864—when the then member of Congress had not served out his first term—the nomination was tendered to Mr. Strickland by a majority of the delegates, which honor he respectfully declined, on the ground that the sitting member, by the usage of the party, was entitled to a second term, saying to the delegates that he could not accept the nomination and thereafter hold an honorable position in the party.

After his discharge as Provost Marshal, Mr. Strickland returned to the practice of his profession, and continued actively and successfully engaged therein until 1868, when he was nominated for Representative in Congress. He was a member of the Republican State Central Committee in 1867 and 1868. Having been a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated General Grant for President, and being on the ticket, he canvassed nearly the entire district, speaking through fourteen of the eighteen counties of which it was composed, carrying all the counties but three, and being elected by more than 3,400 majority.

Taking his seat as a Representative from Michigan in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Strickland served on the Committees on Public Lands, Mines and Mining, and Invalid Pensions.

The demands of his district upon its Representative are unusually great. It has more than 1,500 miles of navigable coast; its agriculture will average fairly with the other districts throughout the country; in the year 1869 the district produced for export 596,800 barrels of salt, 900,000,000 feet of pine lumber, 2,933,500 tons of iron ore, 194,628 tons of pig iron, value of ore and pig iron \$5,296,318; 12,200 tons of ingot copper, value \$5,368,000; and

its fisheries were equal in value to its wool and wheat productions combined.

Mr. Strickland is a working member, speaking only when he has something to say. He delivered a speech in the House upon the tariff, March 26, 1870, of which the following extracts show his views upon that important subject:

The people of the country, for the purpose of this discussion, may be properly divided into three classes, which may be denominated or designated producers, consumers, and carriers.

The first class named, the producers, are never prosperous unless they find the second class, the consumers, sufficiently numerous to buy whatever they may have to dispose of. Whenever the production is beyond the demand the producer suffers; and, on the other hand, when the demand is beyond the supply the consumer of necessity must submit to exorbitant prices. The existence of these two classes causes the third class, the carriers, and this class is strong and prosperous, or weak and suffering, just in proportion to the distance between the producer and consumer.

The entire cost of this carrying business must be paid by the producers and consumers. This fact demonstrates beyond any kind of question that every dollar unnecessarily paid to the carrier is an absolute loss; therefore it is clear that this class should be limited to the least number of men and the smallest number of dollars which can be employed in furnishing the necessities of life.

In the ratio of reduction in this carrying business will come wealth to the other two classes. This can only be done by shortening the distance between the producer and the consumer. Any system of legislation that shall tend to distribute the different branches of business over the country is in the right direction. Whenever the producer and consumer are found together this loss of carrying is saved, and goes into the credit side of the account.

In the States where the products of the soil are to any considerable extent required to feed the manufacturer, or, in other words, where the producer and consumer are side by side, the most rapid advance in wealth and population is found.

After giving a statement of the productions of his district, he closed as follows:

The repeal of the duties on these commodities would very seriously cripple, if it did not entirely stop, the production of these vast quantities of lumber, salt, iron, and copper. It would also make the large sums invested in these branches of business unproductive, thus bringing to the people generally such injury as the stagnation of business must inevitably bring. Believing that the policy of a duty on imports for revenue, with incidental protection to our American industry, is wise, and, agreeing, as I do in the main, with the Committee that have proposed the bill under consideration, I will take this occasion to say that in my judgment tea and coffee should be added to the free list.



J. H. Young

JULIUS L. STRONG.




JULIUS L. STRONG was born in Bolton, Connecticut, November 8, 1828. He entered Union College, but left in his senior year and entered the National Law School at Ballston Spa; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1853, and has practiced since at Hartford; was a member of the Legislature of Connecticut in 1852 and 1853, and was elected to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican.

Taking his seat as a Representative from Connecticut April 9, 1869, Mr. Strong was appointed a member of the Committee on Claims. His first speech in Congress was delivered December 14, 1869, pending the consideration of the Census Bill in Committee of the Whole, when he gave some interesting facts on the subject of Insurance:

I approve of the proposition to include in this census the statistics of the insurance business of the country. In omitting this subject the original bill was certainly seriously defective. Any exhibition of the business statistics of the country leaving out the business of insurance would be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted. Few members of the House, I presume, unless their attention has been specially called to this subject, are aware of the magnitude and importance of the insurance business of the country. The little city of Hartford has nine fire insurance companies, with assets of \$12,000,000, and eight life insurance companies, with assets of \$50,000,000. I cannot give the total amount of the assets of the insurance companies of the United States, but it is estimated that the premiums paid annually by the people of this Union amount to the enormous sum of \$150,000,000.

This business, as has been remarked by the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Garfield,] has largely increased during the last decade. Indeed, sir, in 1860 life insurance was in its infancy. Of the twenty-three hundred pages of the last Census Report only one page, if I am correctly informed, was devoted to the subject of insurance. I trust, sir, that in the census of 1870 this great and rapidly growing business will be fairly represented. A few States have insurance bureaus, which furnish for their own citizens reliable information as to the standing and condition of the companies doing business within their borders, and it is exceedingly desirable that full and accurate insurance statistics should be provided for the people of all the States. . . .

THOMAS SWANN.

HOMAS SWANN was born in the city of Alexandria, Virginia, and is descended on both sides from some of the oldest and most distinguished families of that State. His father, Thomas Swann, was a lawyer of ability and distinction, who was appointed by President Monroe to the office of United States District Attorney for the District of Columbia, which position he held for many years. His name can be frequently found in the reports of important trials of that period before the Supreme Court of the United States, and he was well known in Washington City, where he resided, as well through his prominent position at the bar as by his generous hospitality.

His son, Thomas Swann, received his education first at the Columbian College, and afterward at the University of Virginia. He then commenced the study of law in the office of his father in Washington, and, marrying a lady from Maryland, moved to the city of Baltimore, where he has since resided. A gentleman of large fortune and liberal education, firm and decided in his convictions, and of great promptness and energy of character, Mr. Swann did not long remain idle; he became interested in whatever works of public improvement were then being projected, which might in any way tend to the promotion of the future prosperity of his adopted city and State. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a line of road some four hundred miles in length, running through a wild, irregular, and at that time unsettled country, crossing two ranges of mountains, had been commenced as early as the year 1826, and was then in course of construction. The completion of this road, connecting as it would the city of Baltimore with the Ohio River, was of vital importance to the future welfare of the former. Mr.



Mr. Swan.

Swann, who had become one of the most active and energetic of its Board of Directors, was, in 1848, elected to the presidency of this company as successor of the Hon. Louis M'Lane. The road was then contending with apparently insurmountable difficulties, financial as well as natural, the latter owing to the almost inaccessible nature of the country through which it passed, and the former to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient means in the then embarrassed condition of the treasury of both city and State. A man of boldness and determination was required to undertake its completion, and the announcement of Mr. Swann's election as President was hailed with satisfaction by the public authorities, as well as by those of his fellow-citizens who were familiar with his character, and the previous services he had rendered to the Company. Mr. Swann at once turned all his efforts to the accomplishment of the work he had undertaken, and boldly contending with those difficulties that had at one time appeared so formidable, he had the satisfaction of seeing fulfilled the prediction he had made as early as 1851, the completion of the entire road on the first of January, 1853, the first train of cars passing over it from the city of Baltimore to the city of Wheeling on that date.

On the final completion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Mr. Swann turned his entire attention to the North-western Virginia Railroad, of which he had been elected President after having obtained its charter from the Virginia Legislature. This road, diverging from the Baltimore and Ohio road in the mountains at Grafton, Virginia, strikes the Ohio River at Parkersburg, some ninety miles below the city of Wheeling. It was opened for travel under his auspices, and he retired from its presidency in 1857 to become Mayor of the city of Baltimore, to which office he had been elected by a large majority of the votes of his fellow-citizens. This position he filled for four years, having been twice elected, and he has left in that city monuments that will long recall the memory of his administration. He proposed, and was able to carry by his paramount influence with the City Council, a change from the Volunteer Fire Department, with all its irregularities,

to the paid Steam Fire Department, with all its system, promptness, and efficiency. He introduced into the city the then new system of the Police and Fire Alarm Telegraph, which added so much to the safety of persons and property, and which has since been generally adopted in all the cities of the Union.

When Mr. Swann came into office the jail for the confinement of criminals, which had been of sufficient size when the population of Baltimore did not exceed some fifty thousand, had long been found totally inadequate to the requirements of a city of nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants. When he left office a noble edifice of great size and striking architecture was in its place. The Water Works, by which Baltimore is supplied at an elevation of 217 feet above tide with pure water by natural flow, is another of the works to which the city is indebted to his administration. The passenger railways were then being introduced in many of the cities throughout the country, and several companies had made application to Mr. Swann for permission to lay their tracks and run their cars, drawn by horses, through the streets of Baltimore. He, however, through his influence over the City Council induced them to grant this franchise only to that company which would agree to pay to the city treasury one fifth of its gross earnings, which sum was to be appropriated to the purchase and endowment of Public Parks. At his instance a commission was appointed with unlimited powers, and the magnificent domain of Druid Hill, lying on the suburbs of the city, was purchased as a public park for the people of Baltimore. The income from the city passenger railways in 1870, amounting to near one hundred and twenty thousand dollars per annum, was sufficient for the payment of the interest on the bonds issued by the city for the purchase of the Park, and also for the improvement and maintenance of the grounds, and providing a sinking fund for the final redemption of the bonds.

Mr. Swann's last term of office as Mayor of Baltimore expired in 1860. Soon afterward the Southern States seceded, and the great war for the preservation of the Union began. Although a Virginian by birth and a resident of a Southern State, Mr. Swann was

strongly opposed to secession, and from the commencement of the war until its close was thoroughly on the side of the Union, alienating from him by this course many of the friends of his early life. In 1863, when the system of National Banks was developed, Mr. Swann was elected President of the First National Bank in the city of Baltimore. In 1864, while war was still in progress, he was elected by the Union party Governor of Maryland, and took his seat as chief executive officer of the State on the first of January, 1865, on the expiration of the term of Governor Bradford.

On the termination of the war Governor Swann supported the policy of Mr. Lincoln, looking to a speedy restoration of the Union, and on the accession of Andrew Johnson to the presidency advocated his plan of reconstruction. At the session of the Legislature in the winter of 1866 Governor Swann was elected United States Senator, but at the earnest request of his friends resigned the position, and remained at his post as Governor of Maryland until the end of his term of office on the first of January, 1869. In November, 1868, he was elected by an overwhelming majority Representative of the Forty-first Congress from the Third Congressional District of Maryland. He served on the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Private Land Claims. The following is from the first elaborate speech of Mr. Swann in the House on the resolution extending sympathy to Cuba:

Territorial acquisition, Mr. Speaker, has never been a favorite policy of mine, and I trust that I may not be supposed to be influenced by any consideration of this sort in the cordial support which I shall give to this resolution. I would rather see Cuba an independent republic, with free laws and free institutions, than I would see her an integral part of this Union represented by States upon this floor. So of all the contiguous territory governed by independent sovereignties lying upon our outskirts. We have territory enough, in my humble judgment, to be conveniently and properly cared for. I would not extend that area beyond the claims of *actual necessity* growing out of the dangers of our position and the duty of self-preservation. In proportion as you increase it, already fully up to the limit of safety, you multiply the chances of domestic jealousy and discontent among the States. But I would take good care that no institutions of foreign growth in antagonism with our own should be permitted to throw obstacles in the way of that great march of progress upon which the American people have entered with such assured prospects of success.

WILLIAM N. SWEENEY.



WILLIAM N. SWEENEY was born at Liberty, Kentucky, May 5, 1832. He studied and practiced law, was Commonwealth Attorney for Daviess County from 1854 to 1858, and Presidential Elector in 1860. As a Democrat he was elected a Representative from Kentucky to the Forty-first Congress, during which he served on the Committee on Invalid Pensions. On the 14th of January, 1870, he delivered in the House an elaborate speech on the admission of Virginia, from which we make the following extracts:

I trust I will be pardoned, Mr. Speaker, for saying that in my judgment the history of the part taken by Virginia in the late unhappy war will be found—to the eye of those who are to succeed us, who will read it without venom and without passion—to have brought no diminution to her ancient fame, and that the sons of her noble sires of the past approved themselves not unworthy sons of their illustrious ancestry. Mistaken they may have been; you say they were; but the purity of their motives, equally with their bearing, their valor in the field and their wisdom in council, which, if you will not, the world has admired, are beyond question. . . .

I have no purpose to discuss at length these reconstruction measures—time would not suffice—but only to say, sir, that nobody can or does doubt that the Southern States would have been promptly admitted but for the unhallowed lust of vengeance the war excited, and lust of party dominion and ascendancy. How infinitely insignificant the error of Virginia, under the circumstances existing at the time, in resorting to what she believed to be her right of secession—a right which had been maintained by some, ay, by numbers, of the best intellects of the country—in comparison with the gross violations of the Constitution in these reconstruction acts; not alone in relation to the people of the seceded States, but all the rest, in that stupendous wrong of forcing on them amendments of the Constitution which they loathe and condemn? . . .

Anxious as I am to see the people of Virginia restored to their relations to the Union—an event which would deserve to be celebrated with bonfires and rejoicings, and which will thrill, in my judgment, the great heart of this nation from its center to its furthest limit as nothing else has done since the close of the war—I will not, I cannot consent to vote for the bill reported by the Reconstruction Committee. I cannot consent to put the great shame of these degrading conditions upon her, and I will not violate the Constitution of my country.

J. HALE SYPHER.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Sypher was a candidate for Representative in the Forty-first Congress, but, owing to the bloodshed and terrorism which prevailed in his district, the official returns gave a majority against him. He contested the seat, and Congress remanded the subject back to the people to be decided by another election. The result was that Mr. Sypher was elected for the unexpired term of the Forty-first Congress, and for the whole of the Forty-second Congress by over five thousand majority. On taking his seat he was appointed to the Committee on the Pacific Railroad.

Among the measures advocated by Mr. Sypher in the Forty-first Congress were the rebuilding of the levees of the Mississippi River, the Southern Pacific Railroad, universal amnesty, and the abolition of the test oath. On the subject of amnesty, in his speech of December 15, 1870, he advocated the most liberal policy:

Mr. Speaker, the time has arrived when it is right and proper to relieve every body; it is the desire of the colored people of my State as well as the white Republicans. I believe it is the public sentiment of the country. Let the same party which imposed these disabilities remove them. The results of the war, including the abolition of slavery, the enfranchisement of the colored people, and the granting of civil and political rights to all citizens, have been unalterably fixed in the Constitution of the United States.

No gentleman can say it is not safe to perform this act now. We of the South will be the greatest sufferers if there is danger in it, and we are quite willing to intrust our neighbors with all the rights and privileges of citizens. I believe that I express the sentiments of the great mass of the Republican party of Louisiana when I say that we desire no rights or privileges in the affairs of Government of which any portion of our citizens are deprived. I was sorry to hear my friend from Ohio [Mr. Lawrence] talk so much about "rebels." We have none of that class in our State since the election, and I predict that we never shall have.

Mr. Speaker, I regret to hear gentlemen on this floor cite the outrages committed in the South as a reason why amnesty should not be granted. My experience is that the men who commit these outrages are not the parties affected by the disability clause. Let the Republican party, through its representatives in Congress, remove all the political disabilities of southern men; let them by wise legislation aid in building up that beautiful country, devastated by war; let the people feel the fostering care of the General Government; aid us to build and maintain our levees, to construct new railroads, to improve the navigation of the Mississippi River, to encourage labor, capital, and diversified industry in the South, and it will accomplish more toward the development of a true sentiment of loyalty toward the Government than half a century of proscriptive legislation.

JOHN TAFFE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Taffe served on the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Territories. During a debate on the boundary line of Dakota Mr. Taffe made the following statement, which is interesting as showing how changes in physical geography sometimes affect political boundaries :

The old channel of the Missouri River was established as the boundary line between the State of Nebraska and the Territory of Dakota at the time of the organization of that Territory ; but since that time there has been what is termed in that section of the country a cut-off, so that where the Missouri River formerly ran twenty-five miles around it now runs across about two and a half miles, and wagons and teams are driven across the dry land where the old channel was. Upon an examination of the law I am satisfied that the main channel of the Missouri River would be the boundary line notwithstanding any gradual changes of slight extent ; but in cases of greater change, like this cut-off, I am also advised that an act of Congress would be required to establish the boundary line in the new channel. The people on the strip of land in question in this bill are actually on the Nebraska side of the present main channel of the Missouri River. Now, as a matter of convenience to them and to us, we ask that they should be put under the jurisdiction of the State of Nebraska. As the matter now stands, if these people commit any little offense against the laws of Nebraska, although the old channel of the Missouri River is now dry land, we have to get a requisition upon the Governor of Dakota Territory.

Pending the Indian Appropriation Bill, Mr. Taffe opposed what he regarded as an improper policy as follows :

As I understand it now, under this bill a whole tribe of Indians will be paid, although one half of the tribe may be upon the war-path.

In regard to the twenty-two thousand Indians on the Upper Missouri, for whom \$750,000 are appropriated in this bill, I claim, in the first place, that there never were seven thousand of them to be fed by the Government, and, further than that, that nearly one half of them have been nearly all the time upon the war-path. I ask that they shall only be paid when they are at peace with the Government. Twelve men in one body have been killed in my State by Indians this year, and one or two separately ; and I protest against paying a premium on white scalps by giving these marauders blankets and guns and ammunition to perpetrate these outrages. If I did not misunderstand the gentleman who has charge of this bill he stated that he had hoped for a better state of things. I want to see that better state of things before these appropriations are paid. It will be seen that the effect of this amendment is to provide that only those Indians shall be paid who are true to their treaty obligations, and that nothing shall be paid to those who are out on marauding expeditions.

ADOLPHUS H. TANNER.



ADOLPHUS H. TANNER was born in Granville, Washington County, New York, May 23, 1833. He received a public-school education, studied law, and came to the bar in 1854. In 1862 he entered the Union Army as a Captain, and as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 123d Regiment of New York Volunteer Infantry served until the close of the war—first in the Army of the Potomac, and subsequently throughout the Atlanta campaign and that of the Carolinas.

Mr. Tanner was elected as a Republican Representative from New York to the Forty-first Congress, and was appointed to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department. On the occasion of accepting the statue of General Greene as a gift from the State of Rhode Island Mr. Tanner spoke as follows :

The old Hall of the House of Representatives has been dedicated by act of Congress to the commemoration of civic and military virtues by art. The State of Rhode Island is the first of the States to erect in this noble Hall a statue, wrought from purest marble, of one of her most illustrious citizens, who in the early history of this Republic, in battle and in council, illustrated the valor, the wisdom, and the patriotism of the American soldier and the American statesman. Our history is rich with the records of such men ; but the common consent of the American people has assigned to General Nathaniel Greene a place among the very first of those great men who have thus adorned either the earlier or the later periods of our history. It is no part of my purpose to pronounce his eulogium. His great deeds and his greater character are recorded in the annals of his country's history, and a grateful people will not permit them to pass from the memories of men. When time shall have dimmed the luster of this marble, and have marred the beauty of its outlines, the character of this great man will shine with ever-increasing brightness, and every line of its majestic proportions preserve their original grace and dignity to excite the interest and arouse the emulation of posterity.

CALEB N. TAYLOR.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Taylor served on the Committee on Invalid Pensions. Pending the consideration of the tariff question in Committee of the Whole, he thus expressed his views:

"I rise for the purpose of giving some views which I entertain in regard to the principles involved in this whole tariff question. In my judgment, now is the proper time to utter them. I have heard Free-Trade Representatives from New York, men representing importing and purely British interests, professing to be the special advocates of the agricultural interests of this country. Indeed, I have scarce ever heard them speak that they did not declare themselves to be in favor of the downtrodden tax-payers, and that the consumer always paid the duty. I wish here, as an agriculturist and representing an agricultural community, to put in my protest against that position. And here is the proof: Ask any farmer, drover, or miller in the country who buys Canadian horses, cattle, or wheat, if the taking off of twenty cents a bushel on wheat would lower the price of wheat twenty cents, and every one of them would tell you that it would not; or if you ask whether taking off the twenty per cent. duty on a horse worth one hundred dollars would lower the price of the horse twenty dollars in our market, every one of them knows that it would not.

"I present this aspect of the case to the Committee and the country, on behalf of the advocates of a protective tariff, for the purpose of nailing to the wall here and forever the unsound doctrine that the consumer always pays the duty. I do not believe it. I know practically that it is not so. I am in favor of retaining this paragraph in the bill. If it is struck out it will not, as has been asserted by the gentleman from New York, lower the price of beef one atom. On the other hand, if it is retained it brings more money to your coffers, and makes the Canadians, not the American people, pay. They pay the tax, and we get it. If it is asserted that taking off the duty of twenty per cent. on a bullock worth one hundred dollars would reduce its price here and make it eighty dollars, every drover in the country knows that that would not be the case."

LEWIS TILLMAN.



LEWIS TILLMAN was born in Bedford County, Tennessee, August 18, 1816, and has never resided elsewhere. He received a limited common-school education, never studied any profession, and is a farmer by occupation. He served a campaign as private against the Seminole Indians in 1836. He was clerk of the Circuit Court from 1852 to 1860. He was appointed clerk and master of the Chancery Court in March, 1865, and held the office until recently. He was a Whig so long as there was a Whig party, and has since been a Republican. He was one of the signers to the call put forth in the fall of 1864 for the Convention that abolished slavery in Tennessee. He was never a candidate for political office until nominated and elected to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican.

Taking his seat as a Representative from Tennessee, Mr. Tillman served on the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs and the Committee on Patents. His first speech in the House was delivered January 14, 1870, on the Bill to admit Virginia to representation. The following are the opening paragraphs:

Born and raised in one of the rebellious slave States, and never outside of their limits until I came here last February, I claim to have the interest of my section and of the whole country as much at heart as any other man. I have always regarded slavery as the great cause of the war, and that when it should be entirely removed by giving equality before the law to the former slave and colored man, then we should enter upon an era of peace and prosperity. All that I have desired to see required of my vanquished section were assurances to be given by them, or guarantees taken from them, that slavery should not only be and remain dead, but that freedom should in deed and in truth exist and live in its place.

I believe the Government, now and since the war ruled by the Republican party, would have long since arrived at this agreement with my countrymen of the late Rebellion had it not been for the unhallowed ambition of one who desired for his own selfish purposes to revive and restore to power the very party that had fostered and cherished the principles that plunged the country in civil war. This Andrew Johnson aimed to do. . . .

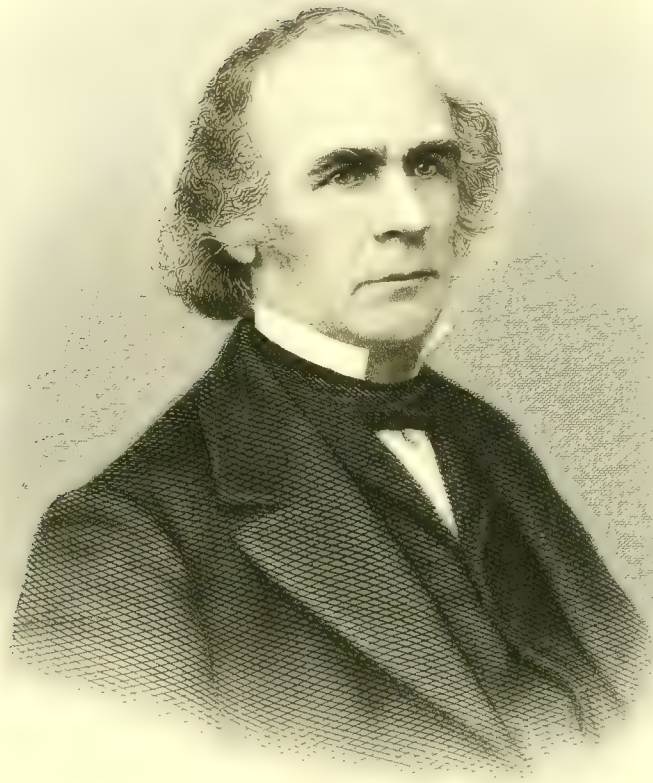
WASHINGTON TOWNSEND.



WASHINGTON TOWNSEND was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, January 20, 1813. He received an academical education at the West Chester Academy under the superintendence of a veteran teacher of youth, Jonathan Ganse. At the age of fifteen he was appointed book-keeper in the bank of Chester County at West Chester, and remained in that institution as book-keeper and teller until 1844. While occupying the position of teller in the bank he devoted his leisure hours to the study of the law under the instruction of William Darlington, Esq., then, as now, a distinguished member of the Chester County bar.

Mr. Townsend was admitted to that bar in 1844, and pursued the practice of the law until 1849. During that time he was Deputy Attorney under Attorneys General Darragh and Cooper, and occupied that office in 1849, when he withdrew from the legal profession to accept the position of cashier of the bank of Chester County, which had become vacant by the resignation of the incumbent. He fulfilled the duties of that office from 1849 to 1857, when he resigned his position because of impaired health, and resumed the practice of the law, in which he has continued ever since.

Mr. Townsend was a Whig of the Henry Clay school during the existence of the old Whig party, and has been a Republican ever since the latter party was formed. He was a delegate to the Baltimore National Whig Convention of 1852, and favored the nomination of General Scott for the Presidency, and was also a delegate to the Chicago National Republican Convention of 1860, and voted for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for that office, and labored for his first and second elections. He was an earnest



W. Townsend.

and ardent supporter of his administration, and an uncompromising opponent of the Rebellion.

In 1868 he was elected a Representative from Pennsylvania to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 12,771 votes against 9,481 for Robert E. Monaghan, the nominee of the Democratic party.

He was a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, and believing that the continued existence of republics depends upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, he supported the Bureau of Education, and advocated sufficient appropriations to make it an efficient instrument to aid all parts of the country that seek information as to the best means of rendering their educational systems available for the general enlightenment of the people.

As a member of the Committee on Public Lands he was in favor of the homestead principle, whereby every head of a family could get a home gratis on the prairies of the West, and in favor of the law giving public lands to the loyal soldiers in the late Rebellion, with no more restrictions on their ability to perfect a title than might be necessary to protect them from the rapacity of speculators. As to grants of public lands to railroads, he favored the legislation in aid of the two great Northern and Southern trans-continental railroads as affording a judicious and necessary aid toward procuring great competing thoroughfares to the Pacific, and opening out the territories to an early settlement, but believed that the time had arrived when further grants to railroads should cease for a time, or be made only in exceptional cases, on good grounds, in limited quantities, so that the public domain should remain as a perpetual fund on which the landless citizen could draw for a comfortable home at no greater expense than the office fees. He advocated the doctrine that in raising revenue from imports the duties should be so adjusted as to protect the industry of the American laborer against the competition of the low-priced capital and cheap labor of Europe, and at the same time impose no unnecessary burdens upon the consumer of foreign products.

GINERY TWICHELL.

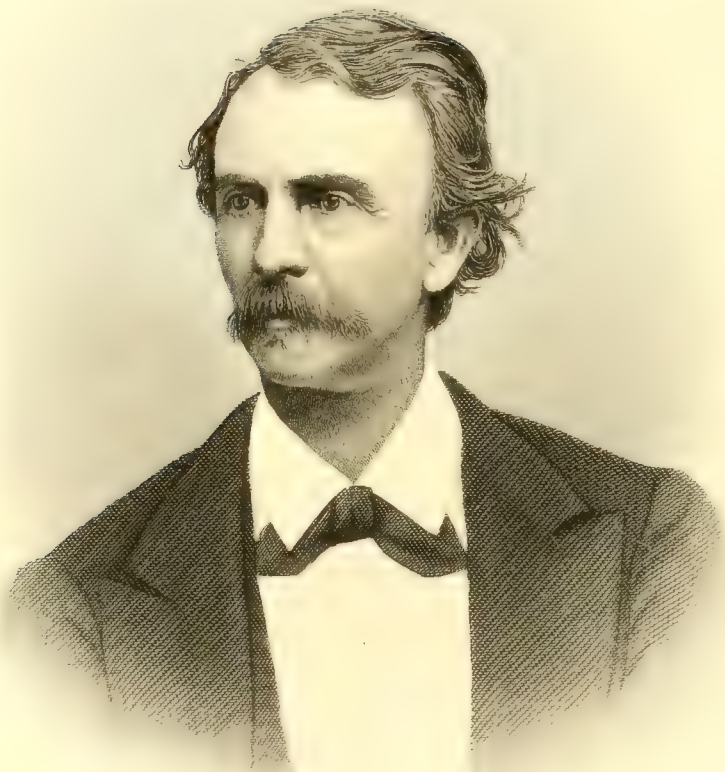
(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Twichell served on the Committees on the Post-Office and Post-Roads and on Expenditures in the State Department. He was remarkably attentive to the business of his committees. Referring to a report purporting to emanate from the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, Mr. Twichell said in a speech to the House, "I think there has never been a meeting of that committee since it was organized when I have not been present." Mr. Twichell seldom made speeches before the House. He, however, spoke very earnestly February 2, 1870, in favor of the bill for the relief of the poor and destitute people of the District of Columbia. He strenuously opposed amendments which were designed to defeat the benevolent objects of the bill, and said:

The needy people of this District call for a different kind of food from that which they are getting here on this floor. They ask for bread; they are in a starving condition. There are fifty-three persons, men and women, who are now engaged in this city as visiting committees, who are going all about the city examining into the condition of every person seeking charitable relief. These visitors report that three hundred families in this District are at this moment dependent from day to day for their food upon the supplies that may be furnished them through these visitors. If gentlemen on this floor who may have doubts as to the necessity of this measure will go to-night to the room of this visiting committee and spend one hour in listening to their reports, I shall have no question with regard to the vote that may be given upon this bill.


On a subsequent day, just before the question came to a vote, Mr. Twichell said:

Mr. Speaker, I wish that members who oppose this appropriation had been present, as I was, the night before last, when the members of the visiting committee who have undertaken to care for the wants of these poor people made their reports. The wards of the city are subdivided into sections, one visitor being appointed for each section. One lady visitor told me that in her section there were sixty persons, men, women, and children, suffering for want of clothing, destitute of even a single garment fit to wear out of doors. A doctor told me that in one family where there was sickness there were two women and five children upon one bed, and they had not had any fire in the house for three days. If the bill be passed as proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Benjamin] these poor people will starve before relief can be afforded. This Board of Visitors have spent all the money in their possession, and I hope the bill will pass as it came from the Senate, so that the relief proposed may be instantly given to the poor starving people who are now in this District.




La. N. Tyner

JAMES N. TYNER.

AMES N. TYNER was born in Brookville, Indiana, January 17, 1826. His native town was earlier and better favored with educational facilities than most other places in the States, and in one of its seminaries Mr. Tyner received an academic education. He studied law and engaged in the practice at Peru, a flourishing town on the Wabash and Erie Canal, and the terminus of one of the earliest railroads in the State. Mr. Tyner's first appearance in public life was as Secretary of the Indiana Senate, in which office he served for four consecutive sessions, commencing in 1857. He was a Presidential Elector in 1860. During five years, commencing in 1861, he was special agent of the Post-Office Department. He was elected a Representative from Indiana to the Forty-first Congress, as a Republican, at a special election held to fill the vacancy occasioned by the election of Hon. D. D. Pratt to the United States Senate, receiving a majority of three thousand two hundred and seventy-six votes. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress by a majority of nineteen hundred and sixty-four votes.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Tyner served on the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, and the Committee on Education and Labor. His speeches in the House, though few, were careful in statements of fact, accurate in statistics, and sound in reasoning. His first speech in the House, delivered February 5, 1870, on the Franking Privilege, was one of the ablest arguments delivered on that question. He showed by carefully collated statistics that "the Postmaster-General had misled the people as to the cost of the franking privilege," and yet he maintained that it ought to be abolished "because the people seem to demand it."

WILLIAM H. UPSON.

ILLIAM H. UPSON was born at Worthington, Franklin County, Ohio, January 11, 1823. In 1832 his father and family removed to Tallmadge, Summit County, Ohio. He entered Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, in 1838, and graduated in 1842. Having studied law two years in the office of Hitchcock & Wilder at Painesville, and a year in the Yale College Law School, he was admitted to the bar in September, 1845, and began the practice of law in January, 1846, at Akron, Ohio, where he has ever since resided.

In October, 1838, Mr. Upson was elected Prosecuting Attorney of Summit County, and held the office two years. In October, 1853, he was elected a member of the Ohio Senate, but was not a candidate for re-election, preferring to devote himself to the practice of his profession. He was an active Republican, and was a member of the Baltimore Convention of 1864 which renominated President Lincoln.

In 1868 the name of Mr. Upson was presented to the Republican Congressional Convention for the Eighteenth District of Ohio as the unanimous choice of the Republicans of Summit County, and after numerous ballottings, there being several other candidates, he was nominated and was elected by a majority of 6,379 votes. In 1870 he was again nominated, with but little opposition, and was re-elected.

During the Forty-first Congress he served as a member of the Committee on Reconstruction and of the Committee on Manufactures. As a member of the former Committee he took an active part in the work of reconstruction, especially in Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas. Representing a district largely engaged in manufacturing, he has taken special interest in measures for the protection of American industry.



Wm. G. Upson

During the discussion of the Tariff question, April 18, 1870, Mr. Upson made a brief but able and interesting speech. To show how greatly the pending subject affected the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of his district, he prefaced his speech with the following statistics of the iron manufactures of Cleveland and immediate vicinity:

Capital employed during the year 1869.....	\$2,810,000
Number of men employed during the year 1869.....	3,250
Tons of ore used in blast-furnaces and mills.....	38,700
Tons of coal consumed.....	273,049
Tons of pig metal used.....	57,950
Amount paid for labor.....	\$1,260,500
Value of product.....	\$8,750,000
Iron ore imported coastwise during the year 1869 at the port of Cleveland, (tons).....	343,507
Foreign iron ore imported, (tons).....	17,830

Mr. Upson then proceeded:

At Akron and other places in the district the manufacture of iron is also extensively carried on, but the statistics are not now in my possession. The burdens of taxation in every form should be removed as rapidly as possible; but we know that a large amount of revenue must be raised for the payment of the necessary expenses of the Government, the interest of the public debt, and the payment each year of a part—I think it should be a small part—of the principal. I believe that the greater part of this revenue should be obtained from duties levied upon imports, because that mode of collecting a revenue is less expensive than any other, less liable to frauds, less objectionable in the manner of its collection, and less burdensome to the people; and also because if a tariff is properly adjusted it will afford protection to all of our interests.

It should not discriminate in favor of special interests or favored classes, but should promote the prosperity of all alike. Those articles which are really necessary to the comfort of all the people, and which we do not produce, should either be placed on the free list or admitted at the lowest rate of duty. The higher rates should be levied upon articles of luxury, and upon articles which can be manufactured in this country, and in the manufacture of which our own labor needs protection against competition with the ill-paid labor of Europe. In accordance with these principles I have advocated the placing of high duties upon foreign cigars, wines, brandy, laces, and silk, and the reduction of duties upon tea and coffee, even more than has been recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means, and have opposed the reduction of the duty on wool.

I believe that the interests of the whole country will be promoted by giving ample protection to the manufactures of iron and steel in all their branches. The duty on pig iron, as fixed by the present tariff, is not higher than the rate imposed upon other articles, either by the law now in force or by this bill, and I think it ought not to be reduced.

ROBERT T. VAN HORN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Van Horn was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress, receiving 5,427 votes against 4,560 votes for the Democratic candidate. He was sworn in at the beginning of the Congress, but his seat was contested, and the case was finally decided in his favor, without a division, February 21, 1871.

On the 6th of January, 1871, he reported from the Committee on Indian Affairs a bill to provide for the consolidation of the Indian tribes, and to organize a system of government in the Indian territory. When this bill came up for consideration in the House on a subsequent day, Mr. Van Horn explained and advocated it in an interesting and forcible speech, of which the following is an extract :

Mr. Speaker, this bill has been before the Committee on Indian Affairs nearly four years. It was authorized to be reported to the House in the Fortieth Congress, but the session expired without that committee being called. It has been authorized to be reported in the present Congress for over a year. The Indian country, or the territory of the United States, owing to the construction of our Pacific railroads and the development of the material resources of the country, has become so circumscribed that we have now no country West to which these Indians can be removed. In the opinion of the committee the time has come for a new policy in regard to the Indians of this country. By treaties, and by laws heretofore enacted, this territory has been set aside as a permanent home for the Indians residing there up to this time, and for many other tribes that have been removed to that country within the last two or three years, and that are to be removed hereafter. There are but two questions in our Indian policy : we must either adopt the policy of civilizing and saving the remnants of these tribes, or we must adopt a policy looking to their extinction. These are, in my opinion, the only two courses which this Congress can pursue in regard to the Indians. The main portion of the population inhabiting this territory, comprising in the aggregate some forty-five or fifty thousand persons, are the most highly civilized of any of the Indian tribes of this continent. Some of them have lived under written laws since the year 1808. I have here what may be called the revised statutes, or the statutes-at-large, of the Cherokee nation. The first written law of that nation bears date September 11, 1808. They have progressed up to 1839, at which time they framed the Constitution of the Cherokee nation, modeled much after our own Constitution. They have unusual facilities for education. The Chickasaws and Choctaws have some eighty-four public schools, the Cherokees have fifty-four schools, and the Creeks and Seminoles have schools in like proportion, according to their population. They have among their members men of education, professional men, lawyers, physicians, and others, who would compare favorably with men in like professions in any of the States.

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(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Van Trump served on the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads. In an able speech on the Bill in relation to "The Rights of American Citizens Abroad," in reply to Mr. Banks, Mr. Van Trump said :

Mr. Speaker, this right of expatriation, as the consequent political result of the act of emigration, is as old as civil government itself. It existed in the best days of Greece and Rome. It was apostrophized by the immortal Tully, in his defense of Balbus, when he exclaimed : " O glorious right, by divine favor obtained for us by our ancestors in the commencement of the Roman name, by which no man can be a citizen of more than one commonwealth ; by which no man can be compelled to leave it against his will, nor remain in it against his inclination ! This is the firmest foundation of our liberty, that every man shall have an absolute power to retain or abandon his rights at his election."

Mr. Speaker, the whole principle, the very essence of this great right of self-expatriation, is embodied in this single sentence of Cicero : it enunciates the great truth that the natural rights of man are paramount to the delegated powers of government. As long as the liberties of Rome existed this great right of her citizens endured. But, sir, there came a time, long after the liberties of the Roman people had perished by usurpation, when there was a sad retrocession of this ancient right of the people. The rise of the feudal system in Europe organized a very different condition of society and laws. To this dark era of human degradation, when civilization was pushed back by vandalism and Gothic barbarity, we owe the origin of this slavish doctrine of perpetual allegiance. William the Conqueror carried it with him into England, and it exists there to-day as the servile relic of the Norman conquest. The question now before us and the American people, revived by recent events and acts of aggression and outrage on the rights of our naturalized citizens by the British Government, is, whether we shall take an open and bold stand in defense of those rights, to ignore which would be to abandon the fundamental principles upon which our Government is based. . . .

So far as the right of expatriation is concerned, no act of the Government is necessary to establish or exercise it. It exists by the law of nature, a title as paramount to the laws of man as God himself is paramount to the will or power of man. In its character of a God-given right it can neither be enlarged, or restricted, or abrogated by municipal law. The law of nature applies to man and not to Government. The rights resulting to each have no relation the one to the other. The one is primitive and fundamental, the other limited and conventional. Deity endows man with his natural rights ; man invests Government with its political powers. The right thus existing is paramount to the power thus created ; the power, therefore, cannot absorb the right. In relation to the exercise of this inherent right the citizen stands high above all the powers of the Government ; his right of locomotion and domicile, as derived from the universal law of nature, which is God's law and not man's, is subject to no human control, and is held by a tenure wholly independent of the political laws of the Government under which he lives. Sir, I was not only surprised, but pained,

to find in the report of the Committee a sentiment which is wholly at war with every American idea on this subject. They say: "It may justly be conceded that the express or implied consent of both parties is necessary to the extinction of mutual obligations between a Government and its subjects."

Now, Mr. Speaker, that is a proposition which has been laid down by the Committee without due consideration, if they mean to apply it to this right of expatriation. Any such concession as that destroys the right of expatriation. An admission of the indispensability of consent on the part of the Government necessarily implies the right and the power of refusal in that Government; so that the act of expatriation consummate, if this doctrine of the Committee be true, depends not upon an inherent and indefeasible right in the citizen, but upon the will and option of the Government under which he lives. The Committee, with all due deference be it spoken, have only deluded themselves by the use of inappropriate language. They speak of "mutual obligations." Therein lies the fallacy. There are undoubtedly mutual obligations existing between Government and citizen while that relation subsists; but the obligation to continue to be a citizen, either perpetually or otherwise, at the will of the Government, is certainly not one of them. The Committee have thus unwittingly indorsed the most ultra dogmas of Sir William Blackstone on the doctrine of perpetual allegiance. Sir, I hope that no American Congress will ever sanction a doctrine like this; a doctrine much more consonant with the darkness of the Middle Ages, when a man born in the image of his Creator was considered as a sort of chattel-real passing with the freehold from one lord paramount to another, than with that glorious spirit of individual right and liberty which is the light and the glory of modern civilization.

The provision in the Constitution which gives to Congress the power "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization" would, in my opinion, settle the question of their power over the subject of expatriation in aid of the right, even if that right depended upon the laws of the society, instead of springing from the great and paramount law of nature. For it would be a most illogical position to hold that Congress is authorized by the Constitution to enact a rule by which the rights of citizenship might be acquired, and yet have no jurisdiction or power over the correlative question as to how those same rights might be relinquished at the option of the person in whom they were vested. But, sir, we are not driven to this position. Some of the learned opponents of this question in 1818 made the palpable mistake of supposing that it was by the legislative power alone that expatriation could be accomplished, if, as they claimed, it could be consummated at all; that the right existed, if it existed at all, either in the nature of a grant, or by the consent of the legislative power of the Government. Sir, this is a naked fallacy. The true question is, that not only the right of expatriation, but the whole power of its exercise, rests solely and exclusively in the will of the individual citizen.

Mr. Van Trump seldom occupied the time of the House with speeches, yet he was attentive to legislative duties, and careful of the interests of his constituents. His addresses gave evidence of literary culture and familiarity with subjects apart from politics.

CHARLES H. VAN WYCK.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Van Wyck, as a candidate for the Forty-first Congress, received, according to the official returns, 11,298 votes against 11,620 votes for George W. Greene, Democrat. The latter received a certificate of election, and was sworn in as a member of the Forty-first Congress. Mr. Van Wyck contested the seat, and on the 3d of February, 1870, Mr. Butler, of Tennessee, reported a resolution from the Committee on Elections that he was entitled to a seat in the Forty-first Congress, and Mr. Burr presented a resolution from the minority that Mr. Greene was entitled to the seat. The main reason given by Mr. Butler for the report of the Committee in favor of Mr. Van Wyck was that "in the County of Orange, one of the two counties composing this district, it had been usual to naturalize from fifty to one hundred persons, but within a few weeks before this election more than eight hundred aliens were made citizens. More than five hundred of them are put down as having arrived in this country before they were eighteen years of age; yet when you come to the proof, when you bring them up and test the matter according to the laws, not one of them, if I recollect the testimony correctly, but what discloses that that was not true."

On the other hand, Mr. Burr, in a speech supporting the resolution of the minority, maintained that the testimony disclosed that "all the persons naturalized did not, so far as citizenship or habitation was concerned, live within the limits of the eleventh district. It was the center, so to speak, of the naturalization, as other important points in different parts of the country are centers for such a purpose as well as for other legitimate purposes." He contended further that if there were naturalization frauds Republicans as well as Democrats were guilty of participating in them.

The House passed the resolution recommended by the Committee by a vote of 118 against 61, and Mr. Van Wyck was sworn in on the 17th of February, 1870. He served on the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads and the Committee on Indian Affairs. He had opportunity to do but little during his fragmentary term, and at its close retired to private life.

DANIEL W. VOORHEES.



DANIEL W. VOORHEES was born in Fountain County, Indiana, September 26, 1828. His great-grandfather on the father's side was a soldier in the Revolution, and followed Washington through the memorable campaign of 1776-7. To this soldier and patriot was born a son who emigrated in early times to the western wilderness, and became the companion of Boone and other pioneers of Kentucky. He fought at the battle of Blue Licks, and many other bloody engagements between the Whites and Indians. The father of Mr. Voorhees was born in Mercer County, Kentucky, married into a Maryland family, and afterward settled in Fountain County, where he became a successful farmer.

At the age of sixteen Mr. Voorhees entered upon his studies preparatory for college, and in due time became a student in the Indiana Asbury University, one of the leading literary institutions of the West, then under the presidency of Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Simpson. He made fine proficiency in his studies, but was especially noted while in college for his success as a debater in the literary society of which he was a member.

Graduating in 1849, Mr. Voorhees determined to adopt the legal profession, and entered as a student of law in the office of Lane & Wilson, at Crawfordsville. In November, 1850, he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Indiana, and of the United States Circuit and District Courts. He met with immediate success in his profession, and in 1853 was appointed Prosecuting Attorney for the Eighth Judicial Circuit, embracing the place of his nativity and residence. In the following year he was offered the Democratic nomination for Representative in Congress, but declined the honor. In 1856 he was nominated by acclamation by the Democratic Congressional Convention in his district. This



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nomination he accepted, and made a most vigorous canvass against a talented and popular candidate of the opposite party, who, according to the published returns, was elected by a majority of two hundred and thirty votes, while the personal vote of Mr. Voorhees was six hundred ahead of his party on the State ticket.

In 1857 Mr. Voorhees located in the city of Terre Haute, a wider professional field being presented here than in the village of Covington, where he had up to this time resided. In 1858 he was appointed by Mr. Buchanan to the important office of United States District-Attorney. The next year John Brown made his memorable raid into Virginia, carrying with him John E. Cook, brother-in-law of Governor Willard, of Indiana. Cook, with the rest, was captured by the authorities of the State, and indicted for treason, murder, and inciting insurrection. Governor Willard obtained the services of Mr. Voorhees for the defense of his relative. One who was present during this important trial describes the scene in court while Mr. Voorhees was delivering his speech to the jury in Cook's defense—how “the crowd stood statue-still for over an hour and a half, brawny, dark-browed men, with arms folded across their breasts as if to bar out too much pity for the misguided prisoner at the bar. The most significant illustration of the power of that speech is found in the verdict of the jury. By the laws of Virginia, a person convicted of treason is hoplessly consigned to death. The Governor is forbidden in such cases the use of the pardoning power. The jury found him ‘not guilty of treason,’ thus virtually leaving the task of consigning him to death to the Governor, who *could* pardon for murder. Seldom, indeed, is such homage paid to the genius of a prisoner's counsel. But this was not all. Mr. Voorhees was immediately afterward invited to deliver the anniversary address before the literary societies of the University of Virginia at the approaching commencement of that ancient seat of learning. This invitation he accepted, and discharged the duty it imposed in such a manner as to extend the reputation he had already gained among the high-spirited and refined people of the Old Dominion.”

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In 1860 Mr. Voorhees was nominated by the Douglas Democrats of the Seventh District of Indiana as their candidate for the Thirty-seventh Congress. As he was holding an important office under Mr. Buchanan at the time, his acceptance of this nomination was deemed especially unkind in him by the Breckenridge men, and they nominated Hon. James A. Scott, while the Republicans nominated Colonel Thomas H. Nelson. In this triangular political contest the odds were greatly against Mr. Voorhees. Both his opponents were gentlemen of fine talents, were good stump speakers, and very popular; and while the district was supposed to be Democratic, it was known to have always gone as the State went, and there was every indication that it would be carried by the Republicans. While this was done by over ten thousand majority, Mr. Voorhees beat his Republican antagonist one thousand and nineteen votes, and the Breckenridge candidate and him together six hundred and fifty votes.

Mr. Voorhees was re-elected to the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congresses, but in the latter his seat was successfully contested by Henry D. Washburn. He was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress, serving on the Committees on the Pacific Railroad and the Revision of the Laws.

Recognized as one of the foremost orators of the country, Mr. Voorhees took a prominent part in the discussions of this Congress, and was always heard with attention. His first speech, delivered April 7, 1869, on the Reconstruction of Georgia, in its opening paragraphs affords a good illustration of his political position, as well as his style of oratory :

Mr. Speaker, the measure under discussion belongs to that revolutionary class of legislation which is utterly unknown to the Constitution, contrary to all laws now existing upon the subject, and in open and direct violation of every precedent and pledge made by that dominant party which now controls every department of the Government.

The proposition to overthrow and destroy a State by the action of Congress would once have alarmed and convulsed the country and called the people together in amazement and horror, like a fire-bell startling the still air of midnight. Once it would have been regarded as more menacing to American liberty and to the existence of the Republic than an invading army as mighty

ALEXANDER S. WALLACE.



ALEXANDER S. WALLACE was born in York County, South Carolina, December 30, 1810. He received a common-school education and became a planter. He was appointed a magistrate in 1838, and was successively re-appointed until 1853. He was elected a member of the South Carolina Legislature in 1852, in opposition to the secession movement of 1851, and was re-elected for five successive terms. He was a candidate for re-election in 1860, and was defeated by the Secessionists, but was elected as a Union candidate in 1865. In July of the following year he was appointed Internal Revenue Collector for the Third District of South Carolina.

When his State was in process of reconstruction Mr. Wallace was the Republican candidate for Representative from South Carolina to the Forty-first Congress. His Democratic competitor, William D. Simpson, had served in the rebel army and in the Confederate Congress. At the election Wallace received 9,807 votes and Simpson 14,098. The South Carolina Board of Canvassers first gave a certificate of election to Mr. Simpson, and then reconsidered their action and gave a certificate to Mr. Wallace. After long consideration of the case by the Committee on Elections, they reported in favor of the right of Mr. Wallace to the seat, basing the report upon three propositions, as stated by Mr. Cessna: (1.) That when one of two candidates is ineligible the votes given for him are of no effect, and the other candidate is elected; (2.) that there was such intimidation as in the judgment of the Committee invalidated the poll in several of the counties of this district; (3.) that enough voters were driven from the polls, because of violence and fraud, to have changed the result had their votes been admitted. Mr. Wallace was sworn in and took his seat May 27, 1870.

HAMILTON WARD.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Ward was a member of the Committee on Territories and the Committee on Reconstruction. On the 15th of December, 1869, he offered a motion to suspend the rules in order that a petition might be read signed by over 70,000 citizens of the State of New York, "the most numerously signed, perhaps," said Mr. Ward, "that ever was submitted to Congress." The petition prayed for the recognition of the belligerency and independence of Cuba. On this occasion Mr. Ward briefly but forcibly said:

It seems to me that the sufferings of these people in Cuba in the cause of liberty, equal rights, and justice appeal to our commiseration and sympathy; that the struggles of the people of Cuba in asserting their independence and equal rights challenge our highest admiration. And I think it would be unbecoming the American Congress to refuse even to listen to the petition of the people of my State asking that the suffering cry of more than a million people almost within our borders, struggling for life and liberty, should be heard, and that we should allow the petition to be read I think is the least we can do.

As a member of the Committee on Reconstruction Mr. Ward participated in the debates on that subject. To illustrate his position we quote from his speech on the Virginia Bill, delivered January 14, 1870. After criticising Mr. Farnsworth, who, having charge of the bill from the Committee, "came before the House and attacked one of its principal provisions," he added:

I, too, have my private griefs which I might parade here in reference to this bill. Individually I am opposed to the admission of Virginia under this Walker government; individually I am opposed to the admission of any State that comes here with a Republican figure-head backed up by a rebel back-bone, body and heels, as in the case of Senter of Tennessee, or Jack Hamilton of Texas, or this man Walker—men who believed that some condition should be imposed upon Virginia in its admission to seek to direct this tide and to secure all that we could from the Congress of the United States. And hence, sir, I favor this bill and propose to support it now.

I have learned that I must yield, agree, compromise, sometimes where there is a conflict of views, or accomplish nothing; and when I found that there was this drift in favor of admitting Virginia without condition; when I found the President of the United States, in good faith, I have no doubt, recommending it; when I found leading Senators desiring it; when I found on the vote taken on Monday last almost half the House insisting that Virginia should be admitted without condition, I saw then that it was the duty of the

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Washburn served on several important Committees, and took a prominent and influential part in legislation. He was a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and, having charge in the House of the Naval Appropriation bills, he made a speech exposing many abuses in that branch of the service. He was a member of the Select Committee on Causes of the Decline of American Tonnage, and made a speech on that subject, from which the following extract is taken :

Shall we go on to expend \$20,000,000 a year on such a navy as we have, or shall we change our policy somewhat and use part of that money to encourage the building of some iron ships that may be usefully employed in commerce in time of peace and as swift cruisers in time of war? To maintain a foreign squadron costs a great deal of money, an admiral's ship alone costing \$600,000 a year. It is asserted that it is necessary to protect our commerce and maintain the dignity of the nation, and give the world an idea of its resources and its power, that such squadrons should be kept up. I stated the other day, and it will bear repeating, that an American captain has stated to the Committee that before the war he was in the harbor of Rio with his ship, and that at the same time there were forty other ships in port loading with coffee flying the American flag, and but one American war ship, the old John Adams, a sailing ship. Two or three years ago he was in the same port, and his ship was the only one flying the stars and stripes, while at the same time there were seven United States war vessels in port to protect him.

A large American ship-builder informs me that he met but a few days ago an old acquaintance, long in the India trade, who had just come from China in the Pacific line. The friend said that ninety days ago he was in Calcutta, and there were then in that port but three American ships, while before the war he had frequently seen in the same port at one time over one hundred ships flying the star and stripes; yet in those days a single war ship in East Indian waters was all that was deemed necessary for the protection of our commerce there.

He was Chairman of a Special Committee on the subject of Postal Telegraph lines, and presented a very elaborate report. On the 22d of December, 1869, he made an able and exhaustive speech, full of facts and figures, in support of the conclusion of his Committee that the Government should own and operate the telegraph lines as a part of the postal system. The following extracts show some of the results aimed at in this important measure :

Let the Government buy out the lines, transfer the management to the Post-Office Department, and reduce at once the cost of telegraphing to a uniform rate for any distance to twenty cents for twenty words, and you will bring blessings

and benefits to millions of our people who have hitherto been deprived of the use of the telegraph. The mind can scarcely comprehend the vast advantages to the whole country that will ensue if this system is adopted. The experience of cheap telegraphy in Europe has demonstrated that sixty per cent. of dispatches sent are upon social or family matters, while here it is rarely used except upon urgent business. A money-order system such as is adopted in Europe would be of incalculable benefit to the whole country, and would stimulate and promote all kinds of business to an extent that few now can comprehend. If you desire to pay any sum of money on a given day at New Orleans, San Francisco, or any other point, whether near or remote, you will have but to step to a postal telegraph money-order office, deposit the amount you desire to pay, with twenty cents for a dispatch, and in an hour your correspondent on the Pacific coast has your money. . . .

From careful estimates I am convinced that the Post-Office Department could add to itself the telegraph business of the country, and that it could do that business with good wires at an expense of \$3,500,000 per annum—one half or less than one half what telegraphing now costs the country; that it could and would do five times the amount of telegraphing done to-day, at from one fifth to one tenth the rates charged at present, and be not only self-sustaining, but a small source of revenue to the Government. That its receipts should exceed its expenditures by more than enough to pay the interest on the cost of construction or purchase of wires is not desirable. This could be easily done. The saving thus effected to the people in three years would actually pay for the wires.

In a brief and forcible speech Mr. Washburn thus conclusively presented important reasons against a removal of the capital :

I utterly dissent from all propositions for the removal of the national capital, come from what quarter they may. I am in favor of its remaining where it was established by the Father of his Country, and where to protect and maintain it the best blood of the country has been shed on a thousand battle-fields. Should it ever be determined to abandon this capital, from that day will disunion and disintegration begin. To leave here because of the corruption which exists will be but to realize the fable of the fox and the flies. The situation of Washington is pleasant, the climate mild and healthful, and its public buildings the finest in the world; and, by means that were unknown when the Government was established, through telegraphs and railroads, our constituents are brought almost to the door of the Capitol, and any one who desires it can come here even from the far-off shores of the Pacific with more ease, and almost as soon, as the fathers of the Republic could come here from New York city when the capital was established.

The removal of the capital means the taking from the people by taxation \$100,000,000 to establish a new capital and erect public buildings equal to those we now possess. It means more than that: it means \$500,000,000 of private property destroyed. Believing that my constituents are satisfied that the capital should remain where it is, and as their judgment accords with my own, I shall oppose all schemes for its disturbance or removal.

WILLIAM B. WASHBURN.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

As Chairman of the Committee on Claims in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Washburn introduced many bills of a private and personal character, which he supported by brief explanatory speeches. The most important measure proposed and advocated by him in this capacity was a bill to authorize the settlement of the accounts of officers of the army and navy arising since the commencement of the Rebellion and prior to the 20th day of August, 1866, allowing such credits for overpayments, and for losses of funds, vouchers, and property as they may deem just and reasonable, when recommended, under authority of the Secretaries of War and Navy, by the heads of the military and naval bureaus to which such accounts respectively pertain. This bill Mr. Washburn said amounted simply to "wiping out or clearing up the old books and starting with a new set of books."

Mr. Washburn sometimes participated in discussions upon other subjects, but never made extended speeches. When the Tariff Bill was under consideration in Committee of the Whole he made the following interesting statements :

"The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means knows that to-day, with the present tariff, there has been more paid into the Treasury of the United States than was ever paid before with a single exception, and that was in 1866, when the tariff was very low and we were about to raise it to a very high price. It is known to most members here that at that time there were cigars enough imported into the country to last us for nearly two years. Owing to the fact of that great importation, in view of a proposed greatly increased duty, the amount received into the Treasury of the United States was greater than the revenue received from this source last year; but with that exception, and that only, and under the circumstances I have stated, we never received so much revenue from the tariff on cigars as we received during the last year under the present tariff. Again, sir, we have received more than double on leaf tobacco imported than we received three years ago on imported leaf tobacco."

MARTIN WELKER.

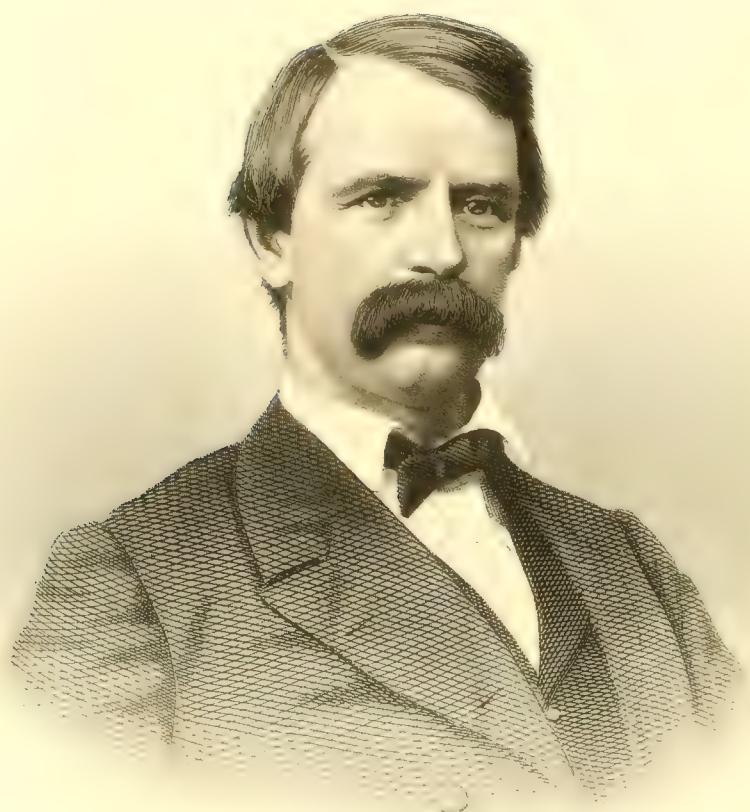
(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Welker served as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Retrenchment on the part of the House, and as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia and of the Committee on Private Land Claims. Both in committees and on the floor of the House Mr. Welker was an active working member, never speaking save when he had something of interest and importance to say. Near the close of the Forty-first Congress he delivered a speech on the Agricultural Department, from which the following extracts are given :

It is said that he who makes two blades of grass grow where one did before is a public benefactor. This department has done this and more in many varieties of agricultural products. It has established relations with organized associations for agricultural improvements, whether governmental or otherwise, making exchanges of seeds, plants, and publications. Through an extended correspondence with foreign societies and our consuls abroad it is searching the world for new and valuable plants to acclimatize, new varieties of cereals to test, and, when found valuable, to distribute, thus finding and introducing into our agriculture the valuable products of all countries suitable and profitable for our cultivation.

Agriculture is the great civilizer of the world. Its improvements and advancements mark national as well as individual progress. Whatever will add to its success, furnish it with valuable inventions and discoveries, are so many steps toward accomplishing the highest forms of civilization and human happiness. In this country, with its broad and fertile acres, the cultivator of the soil is generally its owner. So large a proportion of our population being engaged in this pursuit, it must ever be a leading occupation. The great extent of our country and its capabilities make it necessary that there shall always be a great diversity of agricultural labor. To give direction to this diversified agriculture is one great purpose of the department, and it will be able to lead the way in processes of culture, as well as selection of products and their varieties in the different localities, and thus enable farmers to give attention to that culture which promises and secures the best results and rewards. . . .

The whole landed property of England is now owned by thirty thousand persons, making one in every six hundred and fifty of its population. One half of its soil is now owned by about one hundred and fifty persons. Nineteen and a half million acres in Scotland are owned by twelve proprietors. In this country this extensive ownership of the soil, the sense of proprietorship resulting therefrom, encouraging independence of action and thought, constitute the corner-stone of our Republic. The multiplication of these free homes for the people, instilling into their minds the spirit of agricultural and mechanical progress, and education, and moral development, and improvement, will secure freedom, equality, and prosperity among our people, and perpetuity to our Government.



Ernestus Miley

ERASTUS WELLS.



ERASTUS WELLS was born in Jefferson County, New York, December 2, 1823. He received a common school education, and at fourteen, having lost his father, and being compelled to rely wholly on his own resources, he went into a store as clerk, and pursued this employment four years in Watertown and in Lockport.

He then made his way to St. Louis, Missouri, where he was an entire stranger. He soon found Mr. Calvin Case, a successful business man of St. Louis, who was from the locality where Mr. Wells was born. They united in establishing the first omnibus line in St. Louis, which they sold out after successfully running it for five years. Mr. Wells then bought a white-lead factory, but finding the business unfavorable to his health, he sold out in a short time. He then built a saw-mill, and shortly afterward resumed partnership with Mr. Case, and bought back one half the omnibus line they had established, making it much more extended and successful than before. In 1859 Mr. Wells procured a charter for lines of city railroad under the name of the Missouri Railroad Company, of which he remains the President. He was one of the incorporators and the President of the Accommodation Bank of St. Louis.

In politics Mr. Wells has always been a member of the Democratic party, and as such in 1848 he was elected a member of the City Council, and served one year. He was again elected in 1854, and served fourteen years. His party was in the majority only two years, during which he was President of the Board of Aldermen. In 1865 he went to Europe, and after having made a tour on the Continent, he extended his travels to South America.

In 1868 Mr. Wells was elected a Representative in Congress from Missouri as a Democrat, receiving 9,734 votes against 9,553 for W. A. Pile. During the Forty-first Congress he served on the Committee on Railways and Canals, and the special Committee on the Causes in the Decline in American Commerce. The first speech of Mr. Wells in the Forty-first Congress was on a resolution in relation to American citizens imprisoned abroad for political offenses. The speech, limited to three minutes, was as follows :

I rise to give my voice and vote in favor of this resolution, which will but render tardy justice to the imprisoned victims. I have not time to enter into merits of this question at length, to occupy the time of this body with elaborate arguments in defense of a much aggrieved nation ; that has been done already. It is my purpose now simply to give expression to a warm and heartfelt sympathy in behalf of those people.

Sir, the history of the Irish people is one of unexampled devotion to Church and country, of daring courage and self-sacrificing zeal ; but not less of glowing eloquence, brilliant wit, and Christian charity. The bravest deeds of the cavaliers, tinted with all the poetry of romance and legendary lore, have found their parallel in the heroism of the Irish soldier ; and the burning eloquence and classic writings of the Augustan age have been equaled in many an Irish forum before the shamrock and harp yielded to the banner of St. George. Upon every field, and in the van where valor charged to death and victory, the sons of the Emerald Isle have been found battling for liberty and freedom ; and when their native cause was lost, and their own hopes shattered, they have wandered far from their household gods to battle bravely in defense of others, and but recently in our own war, and on both sides, they have illustrated the best deeds of their national character, and many of the bravest chiefs and most brilliant soldiers were Irishmen. Their blood has purpled the battle-fields of almost every nation, their eloquence has echoed through the world, and there never was a struggling nation or a suffering people but has felt the power of their aid. Well might Napoleon say, " With Irish soldiers and French officers I could conquer the world."

I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that I have a field for my sympathy nearer home, in my own State, where the hand of the oppressor weighs heavy on my people. There for years have my constituents been downtrodden and oppressed as a people have seldom been, and that, too, in the name of republican liberty. Would to God I could raise my voice with more avail in their behalf, and so relieve them of the burden under which they now suffer ! but if charity does begin at home I have some left to my fellow-sufferers, especially Irishmen abroad.

Mr. Wells subsequently made speeches on the Decline of American Commerce, the Custom-House and Post-Office building in St. Louis, and the Centenary of American Independence.



W. A. Wheeler

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.



WILLIAM A. WHEELER was born in Malone, New York, June 30, 1819. He received an academic education. He studied law, and engaged in the practice of the profession in his native town, where he still resides. He was fourteen years cashier of a bank, and was eleven years President of the Ogdensburg Railroad.

Meanwhile he did not abandon the law; his first public office being in the direct line of his profession—District Attorney of Franklin County—in which he served for several years. In 1850 and 1851 he was a member of the New York Assembly. In 1858 and 1859 he was a member of the New York Senate, and was President *pro tem.* of that body. He was a member of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1867–68, and was chosen President of the same, receiving universal approval for the ability and impartiality with which he discharged the important duties of the position.

Mr. Wheeler's career in Congress began March 4, 1861, when he took his seat as a representative from New York to the Thirty-seventh Congress. The Administration of Mr. Lincoln, which at the same time came into power, found in Mr. Wheeler one of its most reliable Congressional supporters, and the Rebellion, just becoming flagrant, met his unrelenting resistance. After six years' absence Mr. Wheeler returned to the halls of legislation, March 4, 1869, having been elected a representative to the Forty-first Congress, receiving 15,262 votes, against 6,284 for Wallace, Democrat. He was appointed Chairman of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad, and a member of the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department.

Mr. Wheeler's first formal speech in the House was delivered

May 5, 1870, on the occasion of his bringing up the joint resolution authorizing the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to issue its bonds for the construction of its road, and to secure the same by mortgage. He stated that the Company did not seek money nor enlarged subsidies in lands, but sought, first, the national impress upon its mortgage; secondly, to change the route of its main line and branch; and thirdly, to have made good to them the lands originally granted. He closed his speech as follows:

Mr. Speaker, there lie between Lake Superior and Puget Sound and the mouth of the Columbia river half a million square miles of territory, alternating in prairie and pine forests, and teeming with coal, iron, gold, silver, and copper, the sure elements of national wealth, and waiting the countless thousands who are there to find homes and develop every condition of social growth and prosperity. It is now the home of the Indian, the buffalo, the elk, and the antelope. It is now wholly inaccessible, unproductive, and dead property to the United States. To develop it is a work of such magnitude as completely to defy any combination of private capital.

There are gentlemen sitting in the sound of my voice who were part of Chicago—soon to be, if not now, the grain mart of the world—when the paltry amount of wheat marketed there found its way over the prairies by ox teams in a journey of from one to two weeks, the freighters traveling by compass, and camping with their cattle at night. Look at Chicago and Illinois to-day, with one fifteenth of the population of the United States, and paying nearly twenty-five million dollars annually of the national taxes. What has wrought this mighty change? The question has but one honest answer. It is our policy of governmental aid in national railway building, as illustrated in the grant of lands to the Illinois Central Railroad. The locomotive is the “open sesame” to the vast region of which we are speaking, and the sole agency by which we can spread law, order, population, industry, and wealth over the thirty-two degrees of longitude which this road is to traverse, thereby increasing the taxable resources of the country, adding to its revenues, and lessening the burden of the public debt. Wise statesmanship, therefore, dictates that we give this great enterprise all consistent aid, and stay up the hands of the men who in its successful completion are to add new luster to the American name.


I know well many of the men who have this work in hand and at heart. They will neither hold these franchises unused or hawk them about the streets. An intimate acquaintance for years with the late Governor of the Green Mountain State, who stands at the head of this company, justifies me in saying that he is the embodiment of New England pluck and enterprise. Bold, energetic, and tireless, give him these additional sinews of war and he will push on, defying all natural obstacles, and, subjugating mountain and plain to the dominion of the rail, he with his efficient co-workers will present to the nation the full fruition of its most cherished hopes in connection with this great enterprise.

RICHARD H. WHITELEY.



RICHARD H. WHITELEY was born in County Down, Ireland, December 22, 1830. Coming in childhood to America, he settled in Georgia, where he was reared and self-educated. From his boyhood until the age of thirty years he was employed in the manufacturing business. While so engaged he prepared himself for the profession of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1860. He opposed secession, but finally entered the Confederate army, in which he rose to the rank of major. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1867, and in the following year was the Republican candidate for Representative to the Fortieth Congress from the Second District of Georgia, but was defeated by fraud and violence. He was appointed Solicitor-General of the South-western Circuit in 1868. In February, 1870, he was elected by the General Assembly of Georgia United States Senator for the term ending March 3, 1871. Not seeing an immediate prospect of getting his seat in the Senate, he was a candidate for Representative to the Forty-first Congress. The Senate refused to give him a seat in that body, whereupon the Governor of Georgia issued to him a certificate of election as Representative, which, being in due form, was regarded as giving him a *prima facie* right to the seat, and he was sworn in February 9, 1871. Having less than a month to serve, he took no part save to vote, and introduce a bill to relieve from disabilities certain persons in the Second Congressional District of Georgia. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress, receiving (the Counties of Calhoun and Sumter being omitted) 13,441 votes, against 12,987 votes for Tift, Democrat.

GEORGE W. WHITMORE.



GEORGE W. WHITMORE was born in M'Minn County, Tennessee, August 26, 1824. He was reared upon a farm, and received a common-school education. In 1848 he removed to Texas, where he studied and practiced law ; and in the years 1852, 1853, and 1858, was a member of the Texas House of Representatives. He from the beginning assumed a decided stand against secession, and was, of course, proscribed by his neighbors and the people generally. The war of the Rebellion being inaugurated, he was conscripted for military service in the rebel cause, to avoid which he attempted to secure a detail to accompany some teams in the Confederate employ to the Rio Grande, with the hope of escaping thence into Mexico. This plan, however, was thwarted by his enemies, who communicated with the proprietors of the teams, representing Mr. Whitmore as opposed to secession, and in sympathy with the North. "He voted," said they, "against the ordinance ; he and others issued an address to the people of the State against a Southern Confederacy, which contained the most obnoxious Free-soil sentiments, and the doctrines inculcated in the *Helper* book. Not only has he done this, but he recently reiterated the same sentiments in a letter over his own signature. . . . The general sentiment of the county is that his feelings are not with the South in the present struggle." Another letter to the same company represents Mr. Whitmore as "notorious in this county as an evil-wisher—a Tory as far as he dares to be—an enemy in secret of the Confederate States."

Being dismissed from the service of the company above named, Mr. Whitmore was presently arrested by military authority and imprisoned for more than a year, being much of the time confined in the dungeon of his own county jail. The charges on which his imprisonment was founded were that he was a member of the



O. M. Whitmore

Legislature of Texas when that State seceded and opposed secession, and that he afterward held office under the National Government. Not satisfied with their severity upon Mr. Whitmore, the authorities imprisoned his father, a man of seventy years, together with his brothers and other friends.

At the close of the war Mr. Whitmore strongly espoused the Congressional policy of reconstruction. He was appointed District-Attorney of the Ninth Judicial District of Texas by Governor A. J. Hamilton in 1866, was chosen Register in Bankruptcy by Chief Justice Chase in 1868, and was elected a member of the Reconstruction Convention which sat in Austin in 1867-68.

In the fall of 1869 Mr. Whitmore was elected, as a Republican, a Representative from Texas to the Forty-first Congress, and, with the other members from that State, was admitted March 31, 1870. On the 21st of February, 1871, Mr. Whitmore delivered a speech on the Texas Pacific Railroad, of which the following extract is the opening paragraph:

Mr. Speaker, of all the States of this glorious Union, Texas has been the most unfortunate as regards railroads. As long ago as 1853 she chartered numerous roads, endowing them with magnificent grants of lands, and lavished nearly three million dollars of her specie school fund on them in order that she might have rail communication speedily to develop her great wealth. The railroad fever ran high among the people at that time, and they were told that with this aid from the State the steam-horse would soon be speeding over our great prairies, slaking his thirst at the her waters of our rivers, driving before him the bloody Comanche and the hated Kiowa, awakening from their quiet rest the strange companions, the owl, prairie-dog, and the rattle-snake, infusing life and energy in our people, and bringing in its train a stream of stalwart men whose brawny arms were to make glad the heart with the sounds of husbandry, and whose cottages should dot our waste places as the stars do the eternal heavens. Routes were surveyed, maps and charts were filed in our land office, as per the conditions of the various charters. Laborers were employed, and the work for a time went boldly forward. From early morn to dusky eve the sound of the workmen was heard in prairie and forest, and the people rejoiced. But, alas! there came a killing frost, yea, a withering blight, which nipped the bud of our growing greatness, and hurled us headlong into a cruel war! Its fruits have been those of driving from our country the abused and condemned system of degraded slave labor, and of clothing all with equal rights before the law, and throwing over all the broad mantle of suffrage and citizenship under the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment.

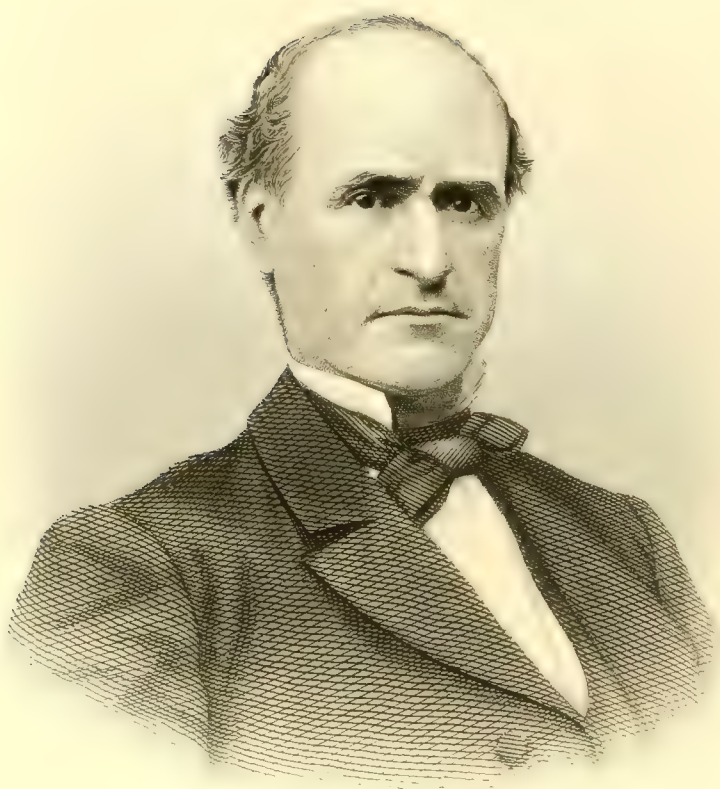
B. FRANK. WHITTEMORE.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Taking his seat in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. Whittemore was continued on the Committee on Reconstruction, and during the first session and a part of the second took an active part in legislation, particularly in relation to reconstruction.

On the 4th of February, 1870, a resolution was adopted authorizing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the alleged sale of appointments to the Military and Naval Academies by members of this and the preceding Congress. On the 21st of February Mr. Logan, Chairman of this Committee, reported to the House testimony taken by them implicating Mr. Whittemore, and recommending the passage of a resolution that he be expelled from his seat as a member of the House of Representatives. The matter having been deferred until February 23d, Mr. Whittemore asked for time in which to cross-examine the witnesses who had already been brought before the Committee to testify against him, and to have witnesses produced in his own behalf in explanation of the matters alleged against him. In the deposition making this request Mr. Whittemore declared that he had never received and used a dollar of money for his appointments for his own private purposes.

Mr. Poland submitted a resolution that the further consideration of the resolution for the expulsion of Mr. Whittemore should be postponed until the Committee on Military Affairs should make their final report, comprising the other cases before them. This resolution was not agreed to, and on the day following, as the House was proceeding to consider the subject, Mr. Whittemore sent to the Speaker copies of telegrams announcing his resignation to the Governor of South Carolina and the acceptance of the same. Mr. Whittemore being by the ruling of the Chair no longer a member of the House of Representatives, no further action was taken upon the resolution proposed by the Military Committee. The House, however, passed a resolution declaring that his "conduct has been such as to show him unworthy of a seat in the House of Representatives. Mr. Whittemore having been re-elected, his credentials were presented to the House of Representatives June 18th, but a resolution was passed refusing to allow him to be sworn in.



M. S. Brimmer

MORTON S. WILKINSON.



MORTON S. WILKINSON was born in Skaneateles, Onondaga County, New York, January 22, 1819. He worked in boyhood on his father's farm, availing himself, however, of opportunities afforded him for acquiring an academical education. In 1837 he removed to Illinois, where he was employed for two years upon the railroad works then commenced in that State. He then returned to his native town, where he studied law, and was admitted to the bar. Conceiving that the West would afford him a better field for professional labor, he settled at Eaton Rapids in Michigan. In 1847 he removed still farther West, settling in Minnesota two years before its organization as a territory. He identified himself actively with the interests of the embryo Commonwealth, and has lived to see his hopes realized, in its becoming one of the most prosperous portions of the Union. When the Territory was organized he was elected to its first Legislature. He drafted a code of laws for the Territory as a member of a Board of Commissioners appointed for that purpose.

His Congressional career began in 1859, when he was elected to the Senate of the United States as a Republican, to succeed Hon. James Shields, Democrat. He served as Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, and member of the Committee on Indian Affairs. As a member of the Senate during a most important period in the history of the country, it was his good fortune to favor by his speeches and his votes some of the most important enactments in national legislation. At the close of his term in the Senate he returned to the practice of his profession. In 1868 he was elected a Representative from Minnesota to the Forty-first Congress by a majority of nearly ten thousand votes.


Mr. Wilkinson, entering the House after long experience in the Senate, was prepared to take a prominent part in the proceedings of the Forty-first Congress, and did so from the first. He made a number of able speeches. He delivered an appreciative and generous eulogy on the announcement of the death of Mr. Norton, his predecessor in the Senate, giving him the highest credit for honesty and integrity, notwithstanding the aspersions which had been heaped upon him for his abandonment of the Republican party. Mr. Wilkinson delivered a eulogy on Hon. David Heaton, who died a Representative from North Carolina, but had spent most of his public life in Minnesota. In this speech he said: "I went there at the time of the earliest settlement of the State, and have been pretty well acquainted with all the young men emigrating there from different portions of the Union, and taking part in public affairs; but I cannot remember a single man who had so many friends and so few enemies as Mr. Heaton."

Mr. Wilkinson delivered a speech on the tariff, in which he advanced the view that Congress had no legitimate power to impose a tariff for any other purpose than revenue, while he admitted that protection to American manufactures was a necessary and important incident. The following is a brief extract:

Gentlemen have said, "Why, you ought to be able to build up manufactures in Minnesota; you ought to do your own manufacturing there." I answer that suggestion by referring to a conversation that occurred yesterday, in which my friend from Tennessee [Mr. Maynard] took part. My friend from Massachusetts [Mr. Ames] was telling me yesterday that he wanted no protection for his firm in their manufacture of shovels; that they already exported their shovels, and sold them in Australia and elsewhere in competition with the British manufactures. To this my friend from Tennessee replied, "O Mr. Ames does not want any protection. He is quite able to compete with the world; but it is we poor fellows who are engaged as shovel-makers out in Tennessee who want protection." I ask, Against whom do they want protection? Against England? No, because England has got a competitor already in New England, who can meet and compete with her in her own markets. But Tennessee wants to be protected against Massachusetts. It seems to me that we have no right under our system to pass laws for such a purpose as that; yet if we should undertake to manufacture in Minnesota we want a tariff, not only to protect us against Great Britain, but to protect us against Pennsylvania and New England as well.

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CHARLES W. WILLARD.

HARLES W. WILLARD was born at Lyndon, Caledonia County, Vermont, June 18, 1827. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1851; studied law and was admitted to the bar in Montpelier in 1853; was elected Secretary of State for 1855-56, and declined a re-election. He was a member of the Senate of Vermont in 1860 and 1861. He became in 1861 editor of the "Green Mountain Freeman."

He was elected a Representative from Vermont to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, receiving 13,999 votes against 4,396 for his opponent. Taking his seat in the Forty-first Congress, he was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and War of 1812, and reported the bill, since become a law, giving pensions to surviving soldiers of the war of 1812. He was also a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and as such supported the policy of the Government respecting Cuba, and opposed the annexation of the Republic of Dominica.

On the ninth of April, 1869, Mr. Willard addressed the House in an elaborate speech in opposition to a resolution of sympathy with the insurrection in Cuba. He said :

This resolution, or the proposed action of this House, in my judgment, has no warrant in the law or comity of nations, is unprecedented in the action of our Government, is opposed to every construction which we have ever put upon our duties as a neutral Power, is unnecessary, can answer no good purpose whatever, and, so far as it has any force as a legislative expression, can only serve to complicate our relations with Spain, put us in a false attitude in our complaints against England for her interference in our civil war, and make it much more difficult for the Executive to maintain a strict neutrality during the disturbances in Cuba.

Near the close of the speech occurs the following passage :

I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that the popular ear is not tickled by speeches in opposition to such projects as give strength to this resolution; and I am not

ignorant of the fact that the covetous eyes with which for many years many of our people have looked upon the "gem of the Antilles" will grow bright at the announcement that this measure has received the indorsement of a majority of this House. This is not the first insurrection in Cuba, and the present is not the first time in our history that filibustering has had a temporary popularity. The lust for territory seems yet to possess others than Mr. Seward, and real estate operations and projects for annexation, if they abandoned the State Department, did not leave all branches of the Government with the late Secretary. The "manifest destiny" men still live, and although our flag does not yet fully protect or give free government to all upon our own soil, they would run our boundaries beyond the limits of the unsettled and fighting populations of the West Indies, and the turbulent factions of Mexico, and would make American citizens alike of the Esquimaux toward the North Pole and the naked natives of the tropics. I believe this resolution has its chief and most active support, both in and out of this House, from those who favor this project of continental empire. For myself, however, I am by no means assured that the United States have not already territory enough; and I am quite certain that until freedom and equal rights, and the peaceful enjoyment of life and liberty, are made abundantly secure to white and black at home, it is not wise, just, or expedient to take up the quarrels of any other people, or attempt to establish free governments upon any foreign soil.

In his speech delivered February 15, 1870, on the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in relation to the alleged inhuman treatment of American citizens in British prisons for political offenses, Mr. Willard replied to his colleague on the Committee, Mr. Wood, who had characterized Vermont, New England, and the Republican party as "intolerant, unprogressive, fanatical, and puritanical," as follows:

Vermont has, no doubt, some Puritan notions, and I should be entirely false to her history and her political character if I should plead here not guilty to that charge. She is not ashamed of her reputation in that regard, but, on the contrary, is proud of it. Among the Puritan ideas which Vermont put as the corner-stone under the fabric of her government is that old-fashioned notion that all men are created equal, and that civil and religious liberty is the right of every person born on our soil or adopted as a citizen of the Republic. A slave never breathed her mountain air. Her form of government is simple and democratic, and under it her people have for almost a century enjoyed perfect civil and religious freedom, equally and happily removed from intolerance on the one hand and license on the other. The mob does not rule her Churches or her platforms, but liberty, regulated by law, and controlled by intelligence and education, has given her always the blessed fruits of order and peace.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Williams was a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department. On the 20th of December he introduced a resolution—

That the Judiciary Committee be instructed to inquire into the constitutional power of Congress to legislate or to enact such laws as shall protect the great agricultural and other producing interests of the West, by limiting the rates of tariff on such productions from the West to the sea-board where said railways extend through two or more States, and to report the result of such inquiry to this House for further action.


On the 29th of January following he made an elaborate speech, citing judicial decisions, in support of “the constitutional power of Congress to regulate the interstate commerce of the country.” One of the great railroad monopolies of the country is thus held up to view:

Mr. Speaker, in sight of your own capital is a practical solution of the effect of this doctrine that the Constitution, by reason of the right of eminent domain in the States, cannot charter or incorporate arteries of trade through and over which the commerce of the nation may pass. I mean the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—a monopoly without soul, body, or parts purely spiritual. See this mighty monopoly, which has grown rich and impudent over the spoils stolen from the visitors and business men of the States who come here to legislate for your country or pay a visit to the tomb of Washington. Sir, at the city of Baltimore the traveler is met with the tax-gatherer of this monster monopoly, and he does not give you time to ask the question, “Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cesar?” but says, “Your thirty cents, sir, into the treasury-box of Garrett, or you shall not behold the capital of the nation.” The tax-gatherer who stands in the great highway to the nation’s capital is a man of extensive rotundity and brazen effrontery, and his name, as I have indicated, is Garrett. He says to every citizen, “You must pay thirty cents into my coffers or you cannot go to Washington.” I fancy as he complacently places the proceeds of this larceny in his pocket I hear it sing as it reaches its destination at the bottom, “Farewell, vain world; I am going home.” [Laughter.]

That railroad corporation cannot do even as the publican. It does not even come before Congress and say “Have mercy on me, a sinner;” but, like the Pharisee, it stands in the temple and says, “I thank God I am not as others are; I have received \$3,000,000 capitation tax from the people, and paid not one cent to the General Government.” And it is not like any other corporation in the country, for it was the only corporation in the country that refused to commute the fare of the soldiers who came patriotically to defend the Government, and to save even that road itself from destruction. Like Shylock, it always clamored for its pound of flesh, even when the country was bleeding at every pore.

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EUGENE M. WILSON.

UGENE M. WILSON was born in Morgantown, Monongalia County, Virginia, December 25, 1833. His father, Edgar C. Wilson, was a Representative in Congress from Virginia from 1833 to 1835. His grandfather, Thomas Wilson, was a Representative from Virginia from 1811 to 1813. Soon after the organization of the Government, his great-grandfather on his mother's side, William Griffin, represented in Congress a district comprising the western part of Pennsylvania. Both his father's and his mother's ancestry were Scotch Irish, the former being the first settlers of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties in Virginia, and the latter the first settlers of Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

Eugene was educated at Jefferson College, where he took high rank as a student, graduating at the age of eighteen. Immediately after graduating he commenced the study of law with his father, and at twenty-one he was admitted to the bar.

He soon after emigrated to Minnesota, which presented a fine field for a young man of ability and energy. He was appointed by President Buchanan United States District Attorney for Minnesota, and held the office four years—from 1857 to 1861. He served in the late war as captain in the First Minnesota Cavalry. His line of operations was principally in the Indian country, fighting the Sioux, which afforded but little field for distinction. He performed his duty faithfully, and at the close of his term of service returned with credit to the practice of his profession.

In 1868 Mr. Wilson was elected a Representative from Minnesota to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, receiving 13,506 votes against 11,229 for Donnelly, his predecessor, and 8,595 for



Eugene M. Wilson

Andrews. He served on the Committee on the Pacific Railroad and the Committee on Public Lands. He took a more active and influential part in legislation than is usual with Representatives during their first term of service. He devoted his principal efforts in Congress to securing the passage of the Northern Pacific Railroad Bill. To the accomplishment of this work of inestimable importance to his State no one in Congress contributed more earnest and successful labor.

Mr. Wilson was more than ordinarily successful in securing the passage of measures which he proposed and advocated. He introduced a bill making a grant of land to the State of Minnesota to aid in securing the navigation of the Mississippi River immediately above the Falls of St. Anthony, and a bill authorizing the allowance of the claim of Minnesota to lands for the support of a State University, besides several other measures of advantage to his State and the whole country.

The speeches of Mr. Wilson were practical and to the point, seldom failing to produce a marked effect. His first speech in the House was delivered April 2, 1869, when he was successful in securing the passage of a joint resolution granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad from a point at or near Portland, Oregon, to some point west of the Cascade Mountains in the Territory of Washington. In his remarks to the House, February 25, 1870, Mr. Wilson entered his protest against a disposition which seemed to be manifested to overturn our whole policy for eighty years past in relation to Indian treaties. He believed the frauds of later years to be an abuse of the system, and not inherent in the system itself. He feared that the proposed change in policy would place the Indians entirely at the mercy of the men who were now trying year after year to get away from them what little land they have remaining. He addressed the House at length on the Georgia Reconstruction Bill, which he declared to be a proposition which for assumption of unwarranted power has no equal in the history of Congress. He also spoke on the M'Garrahan case, the Tariff Bill, and other important questions.

JOHN T. WILSON.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Wilson served as Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and as a member of the Committees on Invalid Pensions and Public Expenditures. One of his ablest efforts during this Congress was an elaborate speech on the subject of Agriculture, delivered January 21, 1870. He thus presents an outline of the origin and progress of the Department of Agriculture:

As early as 1796 George Washington recommended to Congress the establishment of an agricultural department; and at various subsequent times up to 1838 agricultural conventions, members of Congress, and others used their influence in the same direction without success. . . . In March of that year the Committee on Agriculture in the House made an elaborate report on the subject of husbandry, recommending a small appropriation for the collection from different parts of the world of rare and valuable seeds and plants, and the establishment of an agricultural depository in the Patent-Office, and requiring the Commissioner gratuitously to distribute throughout the Union the seeds and plants thus collected, and to make to Congress an annual report on the subject. Here we have the beginning of what culminated on the 15th day of May, 1862, in the passage of a law establishing a Department of Agriculture, the general designs and duties of which are to acquire and to diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with agriculture, and to procure, propagate, and distribute among the people new and valuable seeds and plants. . . .


This institution, though yet in its infancy, has already been worth to the country more than tenfold its cost; and if future legislation shall be favorable to its growth and usefulness, it would be difficult to estimate the extent of its value, not only to the people of the United States, but also to the inhabitants of every quarter of the globe.

This speech abounds in valuable facts, of which the following paragraphs are specimens:

We probably produced the past year twelve hundred million bushels of corn and wheat alone. With a fair proportion of rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, potatoes, tobacco, hay, cotton, wool, etc., and with a population increasing at a rate approximating a million annually, we could within the next decade, if the demand would justify it, produce double the amount. No other industry of the country can present a similar showing to this, though the mines and rivers, lakes and oceans, are equally bounteous with the soil. . . .

Leaving out Alaska, with about three hundred and seventy million acres very lightly appreciated by farmers, the public domain of the United States and Territories contains an area of about 1,447,000,000 acres, capable of sustaining a population probably greater than the present inhabitants of the globe, and embracing about twenty-four degrees of latitude and fifty-eight degrees of longitude.


JAMES J. WINANS.

AMES J. WINANS was born in Maysville, Kentucky, June 7, 1818. He received a common-school education, and studied law in Kentucky. Removing to Ohio, he settled in Xenia, where he practiced his profession. In June, 1845, he was appointed clerk of the court of Greene County. In 1857 he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1863 he was a member of the Ohio House of Representatives. He was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas to fill a vacancy in 1864, and was elected for the full term of five years in 1866. He was elected a Representative from Ohio to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican, to succeed Hon. Samuel Shellabarger, by whom he in turn was succeeded in the next Congress. He was a member of the Committees on Public Lands and Revolutionary Pensions.

On the 1st of February, 1870, Mr. Winans addressed the House in advocacy of a bill prepared by himself to divide the State of Ohio into three judicial districts. He showed that the business of the United States courts, in the southern district of Ohio especially, had been greatly increased by cases arising under the banking and internal revenue laws, and added :

The Miami and Scioto country has been notoriously the scene of the operations of "the whisky ring," and of extensive frauds upon the revenue by tobacco rings and dealers. Since March, 1867, statistics have been furnished by District Attorneys, and from these Mr. Rollins reports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, (from the 2d of March in that year,) in the southern district of Ohio, forty-eight cases in which the United States was a party, and at the close of the fiscal year there were thirty-eight cases pending, ten only having been disposed of; and for the fiscal year 1868 he reports three hundred and forty new cases, of which and of cases coming over from the former year one hundred and eighty-five remained undisposed of; and Mr. Delano for the fiscal year 1869 reports two hundred and forty-four new cases, and one hundred and sixty-seven remaining undisposed of.

BOYD WINCHESTER.


 OYD WINCHESTER was born in the parish of Ascension, Louisiana, September 23, 1836. He was educated at Center College, Danville, Kentucky, and at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. He graduated at the Law University of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1857, and located in that city in the practice of his profession.

In August, 1867, he was elected to the State Senate of Kentucky. In 1868 he was a candidate for district elector on the Seymour ticket, and took an active part in the canvass. He was elected a Representative from Kentucky to the Forty-first Congress as a Democrat, receiving 15,108 votes against 1,515 for English, Republican.

Taking his seat in the national House of Representatives, Mr. Winchester was appointed on the Committee on Railways and Canals. On the 14th of January, 1870, he addressed the House on the bill to admit Virginia to representation, which he denounced as involving a "most dangerous usurpation of power," and as a "compound of malignity and bad faith, having no parallel even in the revolutionary legislation of the past four years." The following is an extract from this speech :

"Patriotism," says Gibbon in one of his chapters on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, "is that sense of common interest which men feel in the preservation of a Government of whose liberties they are common partakers;" but modern political philosophy declares patriotism to be an undying attachment to the Radical party, and loyalty an unquestioned devotion to its interests. The policy of Congress in dealing with the Southern States has been as illogical as it has been perfidious. Why the necessity of an act of Congress to admit Virginia to representation? The mere temporary abeyance or suspension of the right, from the exigency of the war, was no forfeiture. The people of the revolting States never ceased to be citizens because they failed to effect their forcible expatriation, and therefore were entitled to the right of local self-government the moment the rebellion ceased.

JOHN S. WITCHER.

OHN S. WITCHER was born in Carbell County, then Virginia, now West Virginia, July 15, 1839. He was brought up on a farm, and received a common school education. In 1861 he was elected Clerk of the Circuit Court of Carbell County under the restored government of Virginia, and served about six months, when he resigned to enter the volunteer service of the United States. He was appointed second lieutenant, and rose by degrees through every rank to that of colonel of his regiment. He served with distinction under Sheridan, in 1864, during the Shenandoah Valley campaign. He took part in the final campaign around Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia, in the spring of 1865. For gallant and meritorious services in this campaign, and especially at the battle of Ford's Station, on the Southside Railroad, he was breveted Brigadier-General. He was mustered out of the United States service June 30, 1865, and in the following October was elected to the West Virginia Legislature. A year later he was elected Secretary of State of West Virginia, and served until March 4, 1869. He was chosen a director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad in the fall of 1868.

He was elected a Representative from West Virginia to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican. He served on the Committees on Military Affairs and Revolutionary Claims. The first speech of Mr. Witcher, delivered March 26, 1870, was an able argument for a protective tariff, in which he showed that "by abolishing the tariff, or protection we have thrown around our mining and manufacturing industry, the consequence would be that the whole industrial population would engage in the more profitable department of agriculture, and the market for farm products would almost cease to exist in this country."

WILLIAM P. WOLF.



WILLIAM P. WOLF was born in Stark County, Ohio, December 1, 1833. He was brought up on a farm, and received a common school education. He removed to Iowa in 1856, and, having studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1859, engaging in the practice at Tipton. He filled the office of Superintendent of Common Schools, and was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1863 and 1864.

In the late war he entered the service of the United States as a Captain in the Forty-sixth Regiment of Iowa Infantry, but having been severely wounded at Collinsville, Tennessee, he was compelled to resign. On his recovery he resumed the practice of his profession, but was soon re-elected to the Iowa House of Representatives. He served as Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue in 1865, and was elected to the State Senate in 1867.

On the death of Hon. William Smyth, Mr. Wolf was elected a Representative from Iowa to the Forty-first Congress as a Republican by a majority of 5,000 votes. He took his seat on the second day of the third session, December 6, 1870, and was appointed a member of the Committee on Claims. He was an active and efficient Representative during his brief term of service. He delivered a brief and eloquent eulogy on his predecessor, in which he said: "True greatness does not consist in the ability to attract attention, any more than true statesmanship is indicated by the ability to declaim. Hence, when fault-finders disparagingly said, 'He made very few speeches,' his friends have referred to the long record of his integrity, and then suggestively pointed to the many rhetorical patriots who fell by the way-side, or were carried by their own impetuosity into the ranks of the enemy."

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

Mr. Wood was returned to the Forty-first Congress by a largely increased majority over that which he had received for the Fortieth Congress. Indeed, the hold he had acquired upon the affection and confidence of the people of his district, irrespective of partisan relations, rendered any opposition to him almost hopeless. Thus secure in the regard of his constituents, he was the better able to maintain an independent stand in Congress. This, of course, increased his influence, and gave greater effect to his declared opinions. The Forty-first Congress was distinguished for the importance of the questions presented and discussed. Many of them were original in their character, requiring talent of a high order, and strength of intellect not to be derived from books and precedents, for their full examination and elucidation. Mr. Wood participated more frequently than before in these discussions, taking an active part in the legislation of the House, and speaking on all the leading questions. Though acting with the minority, he nevertheless had the respect of the chief men of influence on the other side. As a member of the Committees on Reconstruction and of Foreign Affairs he made himself fully acquainted with the subjects appropriately belonging to them, and took a leading part in the debates upon the measures reported by them from the Opposition stand-point. Among these may be especially mentioned his speech on the resolution reported for the acquisition of Cuba, and on the policy of the dominant party with reference to the Southern States.

One of the most important matters agitated by him in this Congress was the investigation ordered on his motion into the management of the Freedmen's Bureau. He initiated this proceeding by the introduction of fifteen specific allegations of fraud in, and mismanagement of, that Bureau by the Commissioner (General Howard) and his subordinates. The Committee intrusted with this subject passed six weeks in laborious examination, and it was alleged by Mr. Wood and the minority of the Committee that each and every one of the specifications had been fully sustained. A majority, however, did not so report. The testimony was printed by

order of the House. It was in the debate in the House that arose upon the discussion of this subject that Mr. Wood so ably and triumphantly defended his course during the late civil war, which had frequently been made the subject of unfriendly comment against him.

A member of the Committee which had examined the case of the Bureau, who had defended General Howard, attacked Mr. Wood as disloyal during the Rebellion, repeating several newspaper scandals which had impugned his fidelity to the Government, and among them the charge that he had furnished arms to the Confederacy.

Mr. Wood in reply said that the only foundation for this charge was that as Mayor of New York, previous to the commencement of the Rebellion, he had sent a telegraphic dispatch to Senator Toombs, of Georgia, in reply to an inquiry, stating that the police of New York had no authority to seize merchandise *in transitu* for shipment to the South. He did not deny having so stated, but at that time no Rebellion existed; the mails, telegraphs, and other communications were uninterrupted; no war existed, nor was there any immediate apprehension of hostilities. So far from sympathizing with or aiding the resistance of the South to the Federal authority, he was the first official who had initiated practical measures for the maintenance of the Federal authority. In advance of any action by the Government at Washington, he had as Mayor sent a special message to the Common Council of New York recommending the appropriation of one million dollars for the outfit of troops to be tendered to the President in behalf of the Union cause. The money was appropriated and actually expended for this purpose early in the spring of 1861. The Union Defense Committee was formed at his instance, who had the disbursement of this money, and by whom fifteen regiments were armed, equipped, and transported to the national capital. At his own expense he had fitted out the Mozart Regiment, naming it after the political organization to which he was attached. The first and largest public meeting held at the North to sustain the Government at this crisis was called at his instance, and addressed by himself, General Dix, Senator Baker, and other distinguished friends of the cause.

(Continued from the Fortieth Congress.)

During the Forty-first Congress Mr. Woodward was a member of the Committee on Reconstruction, of the Joint Committee on the Library, and of the Select Committee on Postal Telegraph Lines. He frequently addressed the House on subjects with which his Committee was charged, and was always heard with attention and respect. Pending the discussion of the Georgia question, December 20, 1869, he made a speech of considerable length, in the course of which he said:

It is proposed to coerce Georgia into a ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. We are to torture her into this unseemly ratification, and that is another reason for this bill. Now, I say that object is unworthy of the American Congress. And this very kind of legislation is going to defeat your Fifteenth Amendment. For what is a ratification worth that is obtained by threats and tortures such as this? It is worth just as much as the footpad's title to my purse when he has presented his pistol and bid me stand—"Your money or your life!"

Referring to his observations on the occasion of a recent visit to Georgia, Mr. Woodward said:

I spent a week in the State, having free intercourse with all classes of people, black and white. I found much diversity of opinion on this question, as on all other questions among the people. I do not know in what way the majority would decide, but I can tell you this: the people of Georgia are just as faithfully attached to the Government as if they never had seceded. They seceded from the Union; they fought the battle, and they lost it. They surrendered to the authority of the Union, and there are not within the jurisdiction of this Government men whose loyalty would be more unquestioned than that of the people of Georgia if you would treat them as they have a right to be treated by their fellow-countrymen. . . .

So far as I saw the South I found no undue prejudice against that class of men called "carpet-baggers." On the contrary, I found that the people of the South desired that northern people should come among them if they would come with any means, come to settle, to labor, to buy property, to live with them, and incorporate themselves with the body of the community. Such northern men are welcome in the South and in every part of the South. They are glad to have them come. But when these men come down to create offices to be exercised by themselves, to exact enormous salaries, and to stimulate the negroes to impose taxes on the white people that amounts to confiscation of their estates, then they complain, and if some rash man makes a rash speech it comes right to the chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction; we hear of it in this House; it is put forward here as evidence that their people are incapable of self-government, and under the constitutional clause about guarantee we are called upon to pass some outrageous bill under the pretense of securing to that people a republican form of government.

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After Mr. Mungen had delivered his speech in favor of Repudiation, and other Democrats had expressed their views, Mr. Woodward, remarking that it seemed to be "a day of general confession," proceeded:

It happened to me to be a member of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania when the Republican county of Alleghany and the Republican city of Pittsburgh repudiated their most honest and most righteous debt. The commissioners of that county and the authorities of that city were summoned before our court to state why they did not levy the necessary taxes to pay the interest on that debt. It fell to my lot to write the first opinion that was ever written in Pennsylvania against these repudiators. Other opinions in other cases followed. We imprisoned these county commissioners—the commissioners were imprisoned for one whole year in jail—before they would surrender to our authority. It was a fierce struggle between the judicial authorities of the State and the Republican party. [Laughter.] And the judicial authorities of the State finally triumphed over the repudiation of the Republican party in that instance. Well, sir, on the 25th of February, 1862, a Republican Congress passed an act declaring that greenbacks, worth then about sixty cents on the dollar, should be a legal tender in payment of debts, in direct and palpable violation of a provision of the Constitution of the United States, and to the utter repudiation of one third of the whole indebtedness of this wide country. Against that instance of repudiation my soul and all that was within me rebelled. And I improved the earliest opportunity when I became a member of this House to offer a resolution instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to bring in a bill to repeal that law, as a disgrace to the country and the age; and I am obliged to say that that Committee has never yet reported on my resolution.

And I hope it never will, interposed Mr. Myers.

Mr. Woodward continued: It was a Republican Congress in which I offered that resolution; it was a Republican Committee to whom the resolution was referred, and it is a Republican who now says that he hopes the Committee never will report on that resolution. That resolution contemplates a gradual repeal of the legal-tender act, in order to let down the country gradually.

There was another instance of repudiation. A Republican Congress and Mr. Johnson signalized themselves by requiring every Southern State before it could be admitted into the Union to repudiate her debt, teaching them repudiation according to the Republican code of morals. And I know men in the South who will tell you that there never has been in their personal experience so disgusting and disgraceful a necessity as that which compelled them to repudiate their debts.

I look forward to the time when the Republican party of this country will be in favor of repudiating the national debt, and I may at some future day have to stand up in defense of the plighted faith and good credit of the country against the Republican party, as I did in the State of Pennsylvania against the Republican repudiators of the county of Alleghany, and the Republican repudiators of the Republican city of Pittsburgh.



P. W. B. Gray


PIERCE M. B. YOUNG.



PIERCE M. B. YOUNG was born at Spartanburg Court-house, South Carolina, in 1838, and was removed to Georgia in the following year. He studied law, but was educated as a soldier at the Military Institute of Georgia, and at the United States Military Academy at West Point. He resigned in 1861, two months before the graduation of his class, to enter the Confederate States Army as second lieutenant, and surrendered in 1865 as Major-General. He was elected a Representative from Georgia to the Fortieth Congress as a Democrat, and for a short time held a seat in that body. He was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress; but the Legislature of Georgia having expelled colored members, and otherwise incurred the displeasure of Congress before being fully reconstructed by the admission of her Senators, the House refused to receive her Representatives at the beginning of the Forty-first Congress, and Mr. Young was not sworn in until the 16th of January, 1871.

Serving less than two months in this Congress, Mr. Young had little opportunity to participate prominently in legislation, yet on several occasions he addressed the House—chiefly on election cases. In his speech on the contested election case of *Tift vs. Whitely*, he maintained that the certificate of the Governor given to the latter was a “fraud upon the House and a gross violation of the election franchise.” He contended that although the certificate of a Governor of a State has been regarded as giving a *prima-facie* right to a seat, nevertheless a person claiming a seat on such a certificate should not be admitted without investigation when sufficient evidence is in possession of the House that the certificate of the Governor is erroneous. He cited several cases to substantiate his position.

SELUCIUS GARFIELDE.

SELUCIUS GARFIELDE was born at Shoreham, Vermont, December 8, 1822. He emigrated with his parents to Northern Ohio in the summer of 1832. When only thirteen years old he left home without money to struggle for an education, from that time forward receiving no aid from parents or others. At fifteen he commenced teaching as the best method of procuring means to pursue his studies. In 1840 he went to Kentucky, where he finished a collegiate course at Augusta in 1842. Having studied law, he was admitted to the bar, and married in 1844.

Mr. Garfielde began life as a Democrat, and as such was, in 1849, elected to the convention to revise the Constitution of Kentucky, in the County of Fleming, where the Whig majority was six hundred, beating his competitor two hundred and fifty votes. In 1850 he visited the West Indies, and Central and South America, making a study of the features of the country and the character and habits of the people. He reached California late in 1851 and went to the mining regions, where he engaged in the practice of law and in quartz mining. He became interested in politics in the West, as he had been in the East, and in 1852 was elected to the California Legislature from the County of El Dorado. In the following spring he was appointed by the Legislature a commissioner to codify the statutes of the State. A few months later he went to Boston, where he prepared and published the first code for California. He was in that year married a second time.

Returning to Kentucky in 1854, after a long and adventurous absence, he published an influential Democratic newspaper at Paris until 1857. He was member of the Cincinnati National Convention



S. Garfield.

of 1856 which nominated Buchanan and Breckinridge. In the ensuing political campaign he was an elector for the State at large, and made a canvass all over Kentucky with Roger Hanson, the Know Nothing elector, which was celebrated at the time, and is still remembered.

Late in 1856 Mr. Garfielde was appointed by President Pierce receiver of public moneys for the District of Olympia, Washington Territory, and went to the post of duty in the spring of 1857. He took ground with Mr. Douglas against the administration on the Kansas-Nebraska question, and was consequently removed from office by President Buchanan. He was nominated for Congress by the regular Democratic Territorial Convention in 1861, but was beaten by the Republican candidate because the Breckinridge men bolted and ran a third candidate.

Soon after the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion Mr. Garfielde left the Democratic party and became an active supporter of Republican principles and policy. He was appointed Surveyor-General of Washington Territory in 1866. He canvassed Oregon and California in 1868 for Grant and Colfax. He was unanimously nominated for the Forty-first Congress by the Republicans, and was elected by one hundred and sixty-four majority. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress by nearly eight hundred majority. Washington Territory, always before strongly Democratic, became Republican at the same time Mr. Garfielde did, and has ever since given a Republican majority when he has been there to make a canvass; at other times it has gone Democratic.

Both in Kentucky and on the Pacific Coast Mr. Garfielde has a very high reputation as a public speaker. In 1870 and 1871, at the request of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, he delivered a popular and successful series of lectures in the cities of the Central and Western States on "The Great North-west."

Mr. Garfielde took his seat as a Delegate in the Forty-first Congress December 6, 1869. His first speech at length in the House was delivered March 2, 1870, on the Indian Appropriation Bill.

WILLIAM H. HOOPER.



WILLIAM H. HOOPER was born in Dorchester County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, December 25, 1813. He received a limited common school education, and early engaged as a merchant's clerk in Baltimore. He was subsequently for some years a merchant on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1835 he emigrated to Illinois, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. He afterward became a steamboat captain on the Mississippi. In 1850 he removed to Utah, where he was elected a member of the Legislature, and served as Secretary of the Territory. He was chosen United States Senator under the State organization of Deseret, adopted by the people of Utah in 1862. He was elected a delegate from the Territory of Utah to the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, and Forty-second Congresses, receiving each time a nearly unanimous vote.

The service of Mr. Hooper in the Forty-first Congress was distinguished by his celebrated speech delivered March 22-23, 1870, in defense of "Polygamy in Utah." In a summary of the speech given by himself, near its close, he said he had aimed to show :

1. That under our Constitution we are entitled to be protected in the full and free enjoyment of our religious faith.
2. That our views of the marriage relation are an essential portion of our religious faith.
3. That in considering the cognizance of the marriage relation as within the province of Church regulations we are practically in accord with all other Christian denominations.
4. That in our views of the marriage relation as a part of our religious belief, we are entitled to immunity from persecution under the Constitution if such views are sincerely held ; that if such views are erroneous their eradication must be by argument, and not by force.



W. H. Hooper

5. That of our sincerity we have, both by words and works and sufferings, given for nearly forty years abundant proof.

6. That the bill in practically abolishing trial by jury, as well as in many other respects, is unconstitutional, uncalled for, and in direct opposition to that toleration in religious belief which is characteristic of the nation and age.

Of the purposes of the bill under discussion Mr. Hooper said :

The bill before us declares that that system which Moses taught, that God allowed, and from which Christ, our Saviour, sprung is a crime, and that any man believing in it and practicing it—I beg pardon, the bill, as I shall presently show, asserts that belief alone is sufficient—that any one so offending shall not be tried, but shall be convicted, his children declared bastards, his wives turned out to starve, and his property be confiscated; in fact, for the benefit of the moral reformers, who, as I believe, are the real instigators in this matter.

In reply to Mr. Cullom, who proposed the bill, Mr. Hooper said :

The gentleman confounds a religious belief with a criminal act. He is thinking of bigamy when he denounces polygamy, and in the confusion that follows blindly strikes out against an unknown enemy. Will he permit me to call his attention to the distinction? Bigamy means the wrong done a woman by imposing upon her the forms of matrimony while another wife lives, rendering such second marriage null and void. The reputation and happiness of a too-confiding woman are thus forever blasted by the fraudulent acts of her supposed husband, and he is deservedly punished for his crime. Polygamy, on the contrary, is the act of marrying more than one woman under a belief that a man has the right, lawfully and religiously, so to do, and with the knowledge and consent of both the wives.

The Mormon character is thus drawn by Mr. Hooper :

It is common to teach, and thousands believe, that the leaders of the sect of Latter-day Saints, popularly known as Mormons, are hypocrites, while their followers are either ignorant, deluded men and women, or people held to their organization by the vilest impulses of lust. To refute these slanders I can only do as the earlier Christians did, point to their sufferings and sacrifices, and I may add the unanimous testimony of all, that aside from what they consider the objectionable practice of polygamy, my constituents are sober, moral, just, and industrious in the eyes of all impartial witnesses. In this community, removed by long reaches of wastes from the moral influences of civilization, we have a quiet, orderly, and Christian community. Our towns are without gambling-hells, drinking-saloons, or brothels, while from end to end of our Territory the innocent can walk unharmed at all hours. Nor is this due to an organized police, but to the kind natures and Christian impulses of a good people. In support of my argument of their entire sincerity I with confidence appeal to their history.

RICHARD C. McCORMICK.

RICHARD C. McCORMICK was born in New York city in 1832. He received a classical education, and entered business in Wall-street in his native city in 1850. In 1854-55 he traveled extensively in Europe and Asia, spending some time in the camp of the allied armies during the siege of Sevastopol. He wrote letters descriptive of the interesting scenes and important events witnessed by him, which were subsequently issued in book-form in New York and London, and passed through many editions. In 1860 he published in New York a book entitled "St. Paul's to St. Sophia; or, Sketchings in Europe." From 1857 to 1861 he was a Trustee of Public Schools in New York. In 1859 and 1860 he was editor of "The Young Men's Magazine," and was a popular contributor to various periodicals. He delivered frequent lectures upon subjects pertaining to his extensive travels and wide range of observation. In 1861 he was connected with the New York "Evening Post." Subsequently he was the correspondent of that journal and of the New York "Commercial Advertiser" in Washington, and with the Army of the Potomac. He was present at Bull Run, Williamsburg, and other battles. In 1862 he became Chief Clerk of the Department of Agriculture. In March, 1863, he was appointed Secretary of the Territory of Arizona, and was made Governor in April, 1866. In June, 1868, he was elected a Delegate to the Forty-first Congress, receiving twelve hundred and sixty-three votes against eight hundred and thirty for two other candidates. He was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress by a majority of nine hundred and seventy votes.

Mr. McCormick represented his distant constituency with much ability and with entire faithfulness.



H. M. Cormick



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